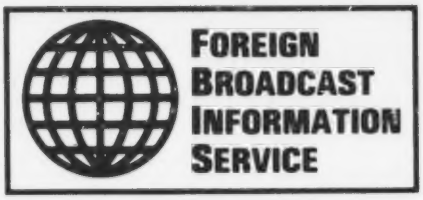

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Russian Reaction to IMF Decision

"We do not want to work under the IMF's dictate," President Boris Yeltsin said in a brief news conference, according to ITAR-TASS. "Not all our views coincide and we shall uphold our stand." Yeltsin was reacting to the question of whether Russia's entry into the IMF would "produce cataclysms." According to IZVESTIYA, Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar "assured" a meeting of IMF and Group of 7 officials in Washington that Russia "does not intend to... change course" regarding the reform policies set in motion. In an interview with TRUD on Russia's admittance to the IMF Gaydar, answering a question on the "situation with regard to funds" available, said "much depends on the Americans and on how soon they provide the $12 billion that President Bush has asked Congress for."

Tactical Weapons Withdrawn from Byelarus

According to the Byelarus military district, "tactical nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union are no longer stationed" in the republic, Berlin ADN reports. The "last weapons of this type" left Byelarus 28 April and are headed for Russia where "they will be destroyed." Byelarusian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Pavel Kozlovskiy stated Byelarus is "adhering strictly to the declaration on state sovereignty" in which the republic is a "neutral, nuclear weapons-free zone" and to the December agreement which calls for the removal of tactical weapons by 1 July of this year.

Ukraine Appeals for 'Normal Atmosphere' for Talks

UKRINFORM reports that the "state delegation of Ukraine" which is to attend the upcoming Black Sea Fleet talks in Odessa 29-30 April "is appealing" for a "normal atmosphere everywhere for the duration of the talks and to refrain from political declarations, unbalanced reports, or speeches or other actions in relation to th Black Sea Fleet and Crimea as a whole."

Future of Crimean Peninsula Assessed

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports on the "observations" of the "'Polis-TV' center for political research" concerning the fate of Crimea. First of all, it is predicted that the Crimean Supreme Soviet will "collapse" regardless of whether a referendum is held. In terms of Crimea's future, "researchers" believe "Russia will not be able to defend the Crimea. At the same time Ukraine will not give it up, but will not get it either." Because of its location, the "Crimean crisis" could have a "substantial influence on the situation in the Black Sea region and in southeast Europe." Turkey, for one, "will not be slow to step up its influence over the peninsula." Finally, the researchers believe the only solution is "an immediate moratorium, for at least six months, on holding a referendum."

Plans for Tatar National Guard Denied

Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev said "there can be no question" of a republic national guard since the government "will never embark on... militarization," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports. Likhachev said Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin would discuss "military building and mutual relations in the military field... during their personal meeting." The vice president did note that there were "several national public organizations" that consider a national guard "essential," but "recalled" that there was a Tatarstan presidential decree "banning the creation of any illegal armed formations."

All Tactical Weapons Withdrawn from Byelarus

LD2804095192 Berlin ADN in German 0903 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Minsk (ADN)—Tactical nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union are no longer stationed in Byelarus. According to information from the Byelarus military district, the last weapons of this type left the republic today, heading for Russia, where they will be destroyed. Byelarusian Defense Minister Lieutenant General Pavel Kozlovskiy told the Russian news agency RIA that the completion of the withdrawal confirms once again that his republic is adhering strictly to the declaration on state sovereignty, under which Byelarus is to be a neutral, nuclear weapons-free zone.

"Now it is the turn of the strategic nuclear weapons, which are also to be withdrawn from Byelarus," the minister stated. After Kazakhstan, Byelarus is thus the second state to fulfill the December agreement between the presidents of the CIS states on the withdrawal of tactical weapons by 1 July this year.

Ukraine, where these weapons are also deployed, halted the withdrawal in March and recently announced its continuation in the near future.

Defense Minister Cited on Arms Tradeoff

MK2404140092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 92 pp 1,3

[Igor Sinyakevich report under "Byelarus" rubric: "Nuclear Weapons as Bargaining Chip. West May Give a Great Deal in Exchange for Security Guarantee"]

[Text] On 22 April parliament appointed Lieutenant General Pavel Kozlovskiy minister of defense of the Republic of Byelarus; hitherto he had occupied the post of chief of staff and first deputy commander of the military district. Remember, the Ministry of Defense of Byelarus was formed in January of this year, but the ministerial post has remained vacant until now. Essentially the Supreme Soviet adopted at that time an unprecedented decision by legalizing duality of power in the military department. The parliament confirmed the powers of Byelarus Military District Commander Colonel General Anatoliy Kostenko, but Colonel General Petr Chayas was appointed acting defense minister. This dual decision reflected a compromise between the republic leadership and the military district generals. A backstage struggle for the defense minister post went on for three months. Documents published in the government newspaper RESPUBLIKA testified to the district commander's participation in the August putsch. Instead of the compromised General Kostenko, the district generals put forward General Kozlovskiy, air defense chief of staff, for this post. Acting Minister Chayas, who was nominated by the government, was quick to state his loyalty to Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich, for which he paid dearly. The government started looking for contenders among the directors of military plants, while Shushkevich supported the candidacy of General Shpak, chief of staff of the Turkestan Military District.

Parliament adopted its decision on the confirmation of the minister of defense when the question was essentially already resolved. All the political groupings had reached parity of interests at their backstage talks and agreed to support General Kozlovskiy's candidacy. Admittedly, the new minister did not want to take the oath of allegience to the Byelarusian people on the grounds that the procedure for the adoption of the military oath by officers has not yet been ratified by the Byelarusian parliament.

Pavel Kozlovskiy delivered an original policy speech in parliament. He stated that "given the specific features of the creation of statehood and the armed forces, a transitional period doctrine must be adopted." The general believes that "the creation of a ground forces grouping of an overall strength of 40,000 men is most fully in line with the prevailing military-political conditions and our economic possibilities." The district troops are being taken as the basis for the ground forces. At the same time, emphasis will be placed on airborne units and airborne assault units—on the basis of the specific conditions of the locality—and the large tank and motorized infantry units will be disbanded [rasformirovyvatsya]: the "tank weight" will be removed from them and firepower will be strengthed.

The total strength of the air forces and air defense system will be around 32,000 men. It is intended as a whole that the armed forces will be around 40 percent smaller than the existing grouping. They may number around 90,000 men, including up to 22,000 officers. The minister of defense sees the composition of the strategic forces on the republic's territory in the form of a separate grouping of forces totaling some 35,000-40,000 men. "At the same time, even if we do not put a single ruble for their maintenance into the common budget, the republic's material outlays will be extremely large and incommensurate with the outlays of the Commonwealth states that have either few strategic forces or none at all," General Kozlovskiy believes.

He also stated that "the special geostrategic position of Byelarus should also be subjected to in-depth analysis. Very important international communications pass through or over Byelarus, and it must be assumed that the European community is interested in preserving stability in this area. At the moment this fact is insufficiently taken into consideration or exploited, and that includes in terms of the solution of our defense tasks too."

What the defense minister said about nuclear weapons is of special interest. "No one is disputing the strategic aim of nuclear disarmament. While steering clear of the merest hint of nuclear blackmail, diktat, or ultimatums with respect to the West, Byelarus has the right to count on compensation for voluntarily renouncing its nuclear status. The West can offer a great deal in exchange for

guarantees of military-strategic security. And we need not be afraid of civilized political bargaining." It is curious that the cited quotation coincides textually with an excerpt from the article entitled "Window on the World" published in NARODNAYA GAZETA (the organ of the Supreme Soviet) on 6 February of this year. In its issue number 36 NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA cited this article, and the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent wrote: "Certain circumstances which cannot be named enable us to contend that this article appeared not without definite movements in the highest power structures."

As we can see, the "nuclear flirtation" trend is developing and gaining momentum. According to unofficial information, speaking to officers of the Byelarus Military District Directorate recently, Stanislav Shushkevich said that at all international meetings he feels very confident in the knowledge that he has nuclear missiles at his back. And the defense minister's remarks in parliament lend a particular poignancy this trend inasmuch as—as has already been mentioned—Pavel Kozlovsky is the protege of the district generals. Officers of all nationalities do not want to leave stable Byelarus, and it is quite likely that the republic leadership will be able to rely on the support of the officer corps even though only 18 percent of them are Byelarusians.

Navy Missile Arsenal To Be 'Radically' Reduced

LD2704163192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1553 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian military reportedly plan to retain 100 ocean-going vessels, 200 speedboats, 300 aircraft and 50 diesel submarines. On April 27 PF [POSTFACTUM] also learned from well-informed sources that the Russian navy wants to have the same number of nuclear submarines with ballistic missiles as was in the Soviet navy. According to chief specialist of the parliament Commission for Defense and Security, Anatoliy Novikov, the composition of the Russian fleet, elaborated by the chief headquarters of the navy, does not provide for proper reductions and will hardly be accepted for consideration by parliament. According to the military doctrine, which is still being drafted, preference will be given to ground-based strategic nuclear forces that are less expensive and easier to control internationally. The navy's nuclear missile arsenal will be radically reduced.

Chernobyl Nuclear 'Sarcophagus' Explored

LD2404175692 Paris Antenne-2 Television Network in French 1100 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] Chernobyl—There is still concern about the consequences of the nuclear catastrophe six years ago. We now know—the authorities in Ukraine have just announced it—that this catastrophe caused 6,000-8,000 deaths, an enormous figure. And here is an exceptional report: We have pictures taken by a Russian physicist, a reactor inspector. Since the reactor exploded only five men have been able to approach the reactor, he is one of them, and he took these pictures within the walls. What you can see is that the reactor still presents serious risks. Patrice Pelet reports:

[Pelet] You have already seen pictures of the outside of Chernobyl nuclear power station, but the ones you are seeing now are exceptional as here we are inside the sarcophagus which was constructed after the explosion, and these men seen here in the darkness are walking on the concrete which covers reactor No. Four, responsible for the biggest ever civil nuclear catastrophe.

The scene is impressive—the explosion blew up the entire installation, including the annexe.

The man in white seen here on the left is called Yuriy Kobzar. He is a nuclear physicist and works for two institutes, the Karkov Institute and the Moscow Institute. After the explosion four engineers and Karkov [as heard] volunteered to inspect the reactor—they verified that the concrete poured in had indeed fulfilled its role, preventing the radioactivity from emerging. Over the past six years he has gone back into the sarcophagus several hundred times but he has only passed over the top of the reactor twice, and what he saw at this specific spot is far from being reassuring:

[Kobzar in Russian with correspondent's superimposed translation into French] You can see smoke, but it is not smoke in fact. It is radioactive vapor which is escaping. Part of the nuclear fuel in the reactor is covered by concrete poured in during the construction of the sarcophagus after the accident. [Video shows fumes rising from crack in concrete]

[Pelet] Due to the heat the concrete is believed to have not set properly at the time it was being poured. Minute radioactive leaks are believed still to be escaping intermittently. The leaks are aggravated by the fact that the sarcophagus constructed around the reactor is not airtight. Evidence of this are these gaping holes through which the light passes, an ideal spot for the radioactivity to escape through to the outside.

[Kobzar in Russian with correspondent's superimposed translation into French] It should be said that the present sarcophagus was built to last just a few years, and the aim is naturally to make a new sarcophagus.

[Pelet] What Yuriy Kobzar is asking for today is for the countries in the forefront of technology in the nuclear field, like France, to be made aware that reactor No. Four at Chernobyl is still a potential threat and that a technical solution must be found quickly to put an end to it once and for all.

General Quizzed on Chemical Weapons Production

PM2704095192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with Medical Service General V.I. Yevstigneyev, candidate of medical sciences and chief of the Directorate for Protection Against Biological Weapons, by Aleksandr Pashkov; place and date not given: "Military Deny Involvement in Mysterious Illness. Chief of CIS Joint Armed Forces Top Secret Military Laboratories Answers Journalist's Questions for the First Time"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Yekaterinburg, Moscow—Certain IZVESTIYA articles ("How They 'Innoculated' Us With Anthrax," "I Know Where the Sverdlovsk Anthrax Came From," and "End of the Anthrax Legend in the Urals") have recounted the tragedy that took place in Sverdlovsk in 1979. At that time dozens of people died of anthrax in Chkalovskiy Rayon where Military Camp 19 was located.

The newspaper carried two versions of how the outbreak of the disease occurred. Survivors, and also relatives of those who died, physicians, and former KGB staffers claim that the anthrax was of artificial origin, the virus was cultivated in a military laboratory. Academician P. Burgasov, who headed the government commission at the time, indicates that the cause of the outbreak was the use in food of animal meat that had become infected via carelessly maintained carcass burial sites where the remains of diseased cows were buried in the past.

However, the position of military biological scientists and those who organized the activity of the relevant laboratories was missing from these articles. Our correspondent visited Camp 19 and talked with the scientists, with General A. Kharechko, chief of the microbiological scientific research center, and then with Medical Service General V.I. Yevstigneyev, candidate of medical sciences and chief of the Directorate for Protection Against Biological Weapons.

[Pashkov] Valentin Ivanovich, first of all I must apologize for a big mistake. I wrote that V. Mikhaylov, former chief of Camp 19, committed suicide. I based this on claims made by extremely senior officials who, it is alleged, actively associated with the general at the time. But in fact he died in hospital of cancer....

[Yevstigneyev] I am sure that, had it not been for the fatal illness of this most experienced biologist and organizer of military science, many things would have turned out differently. At the time senior officials from Moscow simply intimidated his deputy. They isolated the camp and put it in quarantine. They immediately decided that all the infection came from there, you see. The security organs and the sanitary services created such an atmosphere of secrecy and intimidation around the population that there was no longer any doubt about it—he was to blame for the tragedy...Now they write that we almost gleefully monitored everything that happened, that we "verified" our research. But we were simply denied access to everything! We only found out later, for example, that the carcasses of slain animals were taken to furnaces at a ceramics plant in order to incinerate them. Every military physician knows that it is useless to incinerate meat infected with anthrax, even using napalm—you will not destroy the pathogen's spores located in the fat of the carcass by burning them.

[Pashkov] Nevertheless, the physicians claim that the anthrax affected people via respiratory channels. If they used the meat, why did their throats, lungs, and other organs become diseased?

[Yevstigneyev] This is certainly no mystery to specialists who work with anthrax. In broad outline it happens like this: The pathogens get into the blood via erosion of the throat, alimentary tract, lungs, mouth, and so on. Therefore not only the stomach, but frequently the respiratory channels are affected too. After all, people were affected in different ways, but today pulmonary cases are the most widespread since this supports the claim that a pathogen of artificial origin was "discharged" into the atmosphere. You have been to the camp and seen for yourself: There are residential districts between the rayon limit and the production block. So didn't the local inhabitants realize what they were threatened with?

[Pashkov] I cannot tell a lie, I had doubts about this version of events, but...documents and hard facts are needed. Do you think these will emerge?

[Yevstigneyev] At the moment the only thing we can be clear about is that, prompted by foreign and domestic information services and supported by ill-qualified directors, work on developing a more effective anthrax vaccine was suspended for several years in 1980, and the Sverdlovsk plant that produced vaccines and diagnostic substances was closed down. We became victims of the former state's supersecrecy and the absence of laws regulating this sort of activity.

But the facts may emerge. Crime specialists are familiar with the method of identifying biological entities, which in popular literature is called the genetic fingerprinting method. Every strain has its own "physiognomy." These can simply be compared. Armed with these techniques, we must analyze samples from carcass burial sites, the graves of those who died, and also from the soil of the territory adjoining Camp 19, and then we will be able to establish the objective truth. This will be expensive, however. But I realize that today it is more important to resolve issues of social protection for people who lost breadwinners in 1979.

[Pashkov] Valentin Ivanovich, in line with the 1972 Geneva Convention, there is a U.S. federal law dated 22 May 1990 which regulates the activity of institutions that have the potential to produce bacteriological weapons. Does it not seem to you that the absence of such a law in our country creates preconditions for the emergence of critical situations?

[Yevstigneyev] We are in favor of such a law. If the state needs weapons of defense, and at the present time the danger of an uncontrollable proliferation of biological weapons is noticeably on the increase, there should be a clear-cut regulatory document defining our activity.

On the other hand, adopting a law does not remove many of the problems. If you were to study the U.S. law, your attention would be drawn to two facts: It is directed against physical and not juridical persons. For example, if some scientist were to start manufacturing biological weapons at his own risk he would be punished. If, however, he were to do this within a state structure, then nobody would bear the responsibility. And something else: This law is not restricted to scientific research or even development conducted for the purposes of preventive medicine. And the distinction between a "peaceful" and "combat" microbe is very arbitrary....

[Pashkov] On a computer screen at Camp 19 I was shown all the institutions in the world that could get directly or indirectly involved in bacteriological weapons. The computer gave out information on every one of them—the likelihood in percentage terms of their being engaged in scientific and practical work on bacteriological weapons. So is there a technique that can be used by specialists for monitoring purposes?

[Yevstigneyev] There are major preconditions. However, these should be enacted at international level. Bacteriological weaponry is the "atom bomb" of poor countries. While the United States spends up to $100 million in the area of biology and we spend 70 million rubles, it is not known how much is spent on this in so-called "closed" countries. The war in the Persian Gulf showed that all kinds of situations are possible in the world, this must not be forgotten. I will not make a secret of it, there are instances of certain military biologists receiving invitations from various foreign representatives of Third World countries to go and work for them.

[Pashkov] Has the process of the formation of sovereign states affected the activity of your institutions?

[Yevstigneyev] The Kazakh Government has brought the activity of the field scientific and test laboratory located on Vozrozhdeniye island in the Aral Sea under its control. We are proposing a more fundamental decision—that this institution be shut down.

[Pashkov] One last point. Is a "Chernobyl" possible in the sphere of activity in which you are engaged?

[Yevstigneyev] As regards the Microbiology Scientific Research Institute in Yekaterinburg, which is under my jurisdiction, I can say that the likelihood of some sort of incident that might endanger the health of the surrounding population is practically zero. A "quiet" tragedy might occur if, as a result of the present political passions, our scientists find themselves out of a job or get involved in commercial activity. We can only hope that stabilization will come about before everything collapses once and for all. We are attempting to act in a more vigorous fashion, to look for income "on the side," as the saying goes, and thus keep our people. For example, we have an entirely realistic plan to set up a production facility for antibacteriological agents based on the Yekaterinburg center.

However, we must clearly understand that without an antibacteriological defense system, the state's security and defense capability cannot be guaranteed. This certainly does not contradict the convention. After all, it would probably not occur to anyone to take gas masks out of army service just because the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons had been adopted.

Concern About Dniester Cease-Fire Violations

LD2404194192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1912 GMT 24 Apr 92

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS for TASS]

[Text] Chisinau, April 24 TASS—The mixed commission on fulfillment of decisions of foreign ministers from Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania and Ukraine today expressed concern over specific violations of cease-fire in the Dniester area.

In the commission's opinion, this may undermine the sides' confidence in efforts to normalize the situation in the conflict zone.

The commission continued its activities in Chisinau between April 23 and 24 to discuss the creation of prerequisites for introducing groups of military observers to the area of direct contact between Moldovan Interior Ministry units and Dniester armed groups, the Moldovan Foreign Ministry's press service reports.

The commission noted the warring sides must create conditions to guarantee security to the observers.

Beijing Trade Delegation Signs Memorandums

PM2704112192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Yuriy Savenkov report: "Beijing Entering Competitive Market. Chinese Businessmen Opening Up CIS Market"]

[Text] Beijing—A Beijing barter trading company has signed a memorandum of understanding with the All-Russian Aviation Import-Export Corporation to set up a 2,000-square-meter exhibition center to display consumer goods made in Beijing.

The goods will be sold on the wholesale and retail markets. This is one of the results of the trip by representatives of the Beijing Municipality trade delegation to Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, Lithuania, and Kazakhstan. "The visit helped us to get a feel for the investment climate and for financial and fiscal policy in the CIS countries," was how a Beijing Municipality staffer laconically assessed the trip, in which representatives of major foreign trading organizations took part.

Last year Beijing's trade with the former Soviet Union fell by 75 percent compared with the previous year. This was a distressing result against the backdrop of the rapid rise in cross-border trade. Now the Chinese capital has decided to take up the challenge thrown down by more dynamic regions (the northeast and Xinjiang) and get involved in a competitive battle to open up CIS markets.

The Beijing trade delegation's trip was fruitful: 23 protocols and memorandums of understanding were signed with major enterprises (China continues to prefer major firms). More than 200 projects were arranged. The business areas covered were diverse—textiles, electronics, the food industry, tourism, and services.

"How is business?" I asked a Beijing businessman who regularly travels to Moscow. He preferred not to comment. I then asked him to give three conditions for favorable business. He reacted instantly: "An efficient banking system, modern legislation, and respect for foreign businessmen." The sour expression on the businessman's face showed that these conditions do not exist in Moscow.

Yet competition for CIS markets between various Chinese enterprises and regions is growing. This gives our businessmen a chance to compare, assess, and choose. Incidentally, our Chinese partners have great respect for those who are reasonable and thrifty.

Ruble, Dollar Exchange Rate Trends Reported

PM2704111992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 8

[Ivan Zhagel report: "They Would Buy Foreign Exchange, But Lack the Rubles"]

[Text] The latest deals on the foreign exchange market 21 April confirmed the uptrend in the ruble that has been evident for more than a month now. This time the rate was fixed at 150.5 rubles [R] to the U.S. dollar, whereas in previous trades it had stood at R154. Total turnover was $8,850,000.

In line with initial orders, supply of foreign exchange exceeded demand by more than 2 million [units not specified]. Although this led to a substantial weakening of the dollar in trades, the banks reacted very slowly to this trend—that is, the volume of buy orders increased insignificantly. This shows yet again that, as a result of the tightening of credit and monetary policy, bank clients are increasingly experiencing shortages of rubles and it is possible that many of them would have liked to buy foreign exchange but lacked the rubles.

There was another reason for this delayed reaction to the movement in the rate—a lack of modern communications and means of processing information. Because of this, the foreign exchange market virtually failed to react to the 20 April gasoline price rise in Moscow. Experience shows that not only actual price movements but even rumors of them can substantially alter the situation on the foreign exchange market. So we can expect new surges in the rate in the very near future. Most probably these will once again be kept in check by the shortage of rubles and by foreign currency intervention by the Central Bank of Russia which, given the long period of stability prior to this, will obviously have built up considerable foreign exchange reserves.

Military

Admiral Criticizes Ukraine's Fleet Stance

LD2604194892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Remarks by Rear Admiral Nikolay Vasiliyevich Yelenin, assistant to the commander of the CIS Navy for personnel work, place and date not given; introduced by correspondent Igor Kurando; from "The Armed Forces and Society" bulletin, part of the "Radar" program—recorded]

[Text] We are continuing the series of bulletins devoted to the problem of the division of the Black Sea Fleet. I have asked Rear Admiral Nikolay Vasiliyevich Yelenin, assistant to the commander of the CIS Navy for personnel work, to comment on the stance of the Ukrainian leadership, and the proposals of the CIS Naval Command on this question.

[Yelenin] Our point of view on the fate of the Black Sea Fleet is based on the following principles: What does the Ukrainian leadership need the Black Sea Fleet for? What task does it fulfill? On the basis of this we assume that a future Ukrainian fleet should resolve a number of tasks connected with protecting the maritime border zone, the protection of maritime communications, combating smuggling, and defending its economic zone. For these purposes evidently it does not need the lineup of forces which the Ukrainian leadership wants to get its hands on.

The leaders of Ukraine, when considering splitting up the Black Sea Fleet, proceed from a different principle. They proceed from the principle of territoriality. That is, everything which is located on their territory should belong only to Ukraine. The Ukrainian leadership is demanding almost 85 percent of the large vessels, over 70 percent of the submarines, 81 percent of the aircraft, and all the marines. Whereas our military leaders consider that it is quite sufficient for the Ukrainian Navy to have a lineup of forces comprising somewhere around 20 to 22 percent of today's composition of the Black Sea Fleet.

If all the Black Sea Fleet were today handed over to the Ukrainian leadership, the question arises as to what they would do with it. According to the latest speech by Kozhin, the newly appointed commander of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet naval forces, he says that the Black Sea Fleet should be the president's fist in this region. But allow us to ask what sort of fist and against whom this fist should act?

[Kurando] Unfortunately, I did not manage to get any replies to the questions asked, since the news conference by Colonel General Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, announced by the permanent representation of Ukraine, did not take place.

You have been listening to the bulletin The Armed Forces and Society with Igor Kurando. Goodbye.

Problems With Spring Draft Assessed

PM2704101992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 92 p 5

[Article by A. Khokhlov: "Are They 'Clubbing Together' To Recruit Soldiers?"]

[Text] The CIS Joint Armed Forces General Staff assesses as "uncertain" the situation with regard to the draft to active military service. Actually the draft has already begun although so far not a single close-cropped soldier to be has yet crossed the threshold of the assembly points. The draft commissions are now working flat out. The dispatch of the young reinforcement to the troops will begin 15 May and end 1 July. If notification comes earlier, you should be glad: You are being selected to serve in elite units of the Russian Federation Ministry of Security and the guard brigades, where conditions are far better than normal.

Actually, it will now be better serving in any troops, because the duration of service will be less. In the navy and border troops naval units the term of service is two years and everywhere else it is 18 months. For higher educational establishment graduates it is one year. Young men in weak health will not be drafted. The list of exceptions is great and you can familiarize yourself with it in any rayon military commissariat.

The innovations which gladden the soldiers' moms are alarming the military. Even this year there will simply be no one to serve in the armed forces. The present personnel shortfall in the units will increase considerably after the spring draft. Of every 100 young men of draft age the military will be able to put only 28 in the ranks for the spring and fall. The remainder are students, are sick or in prison, are deferred-term conscripts, and so forth. In Moscow only every tenth young man will become a soldier while in Moscow's former Cheremushkinskiy Rayon the figure will be only one in 14.

The shortage in the draft contingent has led to the point where there will be no new intake at all to the railroad troops, the civil defense units, and the military construction detachments of four ministries this year.

"Our main task now is to ensure at least a minimal activity for the troops," says Major General G. Bochayev, chief of a General Staff directorate.

The spring draft is the draft to the CIS troops. But how to implement it if each state has its own hardships?

Ukraine, Moldova, Byelarus, and the republics of the Transcaucasus are finding personnel for the troops only on their own territories. The Central Asian states and Kazakhstan are in the same position, but they are surrendering some of their natives to the CIS Strategic

Forces—under individual agreements. There are many agreements and even more understandings...

But never mind the sovereign and independent republics—in Russia itself they would like to be able to cope! Young Chechen men will serve only in Chechnya; Tatarstan has refused to send military construction workers outside its borders. Three days ago the General Staff received a telegram from the Volgograd Oblast authorities: We shall not hand over a single draftee to serve outside his territory...

The biggest problem of the spring draft is where to take reinforcements for units in hot spots. It has been declared that Russian draftees will serve only in Russia. But there is also the decree of the Russian Federation president on taking the groups of forces and forces in the Transcaucasus, the Dniester Region, and the Black Sea Fleet under Russia's jurisdiction. The 135th order of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command determines that only volunteers will serve in regions of conflict.

The following benefits are established for them: In the first year of service a soldier will receive 900-1,000 rubles [R], in the second R1,000-1,250. Perhaps among the Russian boys there will be romantics anxious to serve under the bullets for such a "substantial" reward. But democratization in the army has already gone even further. A directive from the General Staff chief has been sent to the military commissariats adding to the order: Volunteers and draftees should get the consent of their parents. Now at best the units of the Transcaucasus Military District will be supplemented by a dozen or so young men from children's homes.

It is not hard to suppose that the CIS Army may withdraw from the regions of conflict, leaving behind all weapons and property, by the end of the spring draft, by 1 July. It will probably leave as a genuinely Russian army, after all we were promised that in May the Russian Federation will have its own defense ministry. It is true that so far not one of its future military leaders has said a word about what will happen when about 0.5 million (!) citizens of the now independent states suddenly find themselves part of the Russian armed forces.

The General Staff did not comment on this situation. Actually, it is clear anyway. The promised reduction of the troop personnel on Russian territory will happen of its own accord. But under what conditions? The General Staff officials admit that right now they are unable to exert real influence on the situation.

And in conclusion there is present news for the wretched demobilized servicemen: Boys, you will all be released into the reserve! The last "old hand" will cross the threshold of the base gate before 1 July.

Shaposhnikov Attends Personnel Chiefs Conference

PM2804102992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 92 p 1

[Correspondent report: "Conference of Personnel Agencies' Leading Personnel"]

[Text] A conference of the leading personnel of Commonwealth Armed Forces personnel agencies took place under the leadership of Colonel General Yu. Rodionov, CIS Joint Armed Forces deputy commander in chief for cadres. Colonel General V. Yakovlev, first deputy chief of the Main Personnel Directorate, and Lieutenant General V. Samoylov, deputy chief of the Main Personnel Directorate, presented a report. Chiefs of personnel agencies of branches of the armed services, military districts, groups of forces, and fleets took part in a discussion of the problems raised by them.

During the conference, a unified approach to evaluating the situations confronting the personnel agencies at the present time was elaborated, immediate undertakings were coordinated, and ways of resolving specific questions on military service were agreed.

Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, took part in the work of the conference.

Commonwealth

Russian, Ukrainian Ministers Interviewed

LD2504224992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1315 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Interview with Sergey Viktorovich Lavrov, Russian deputy foreign minister, and Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukrainian foreign minister, by announcer Aleksandr Lyubimov; political experts Andranik Migranyan and Igor Klyamkin; and with additional commentary by Andrey Zagorskiy, deputy director of the Center for International Research at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations; Zlenko in Kiev; all others in Moscow; from the "Red Square" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Lyubimov] Good day! You are watching "Red Square" and today we will be talking about foreign policy. Our guests in Moscow are: Sergey Lavrov, deputy foreign minister of Russia; and Andrey Zagorskiy, deputy director of the International Research Center of the Institute of International Relations. Our guest in Kiev is: Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. Well, and our politologists are: Andranik Migranyan; and Igor Klyamkin.

And so, what is Russia's foreign policy like today? What is CIS foreign policy like? We will be discussing that in the next 10 minutes. [passage omitted]

Sergey Viktorovich, you know when drugs are withdrawn from drug addicts their condition deteriorates badly. Well, you, as a diplomat, probably grew up with the feeling of the status of a superpower, and, correspondingly, this probably enabled diplomats to conduct negotiations more successfully than now. How is our diplomacy operating now?

[Lavrov] You know, well, probably there is a grain of truth in what you said about the perception of the Union as a superpower, although we were all a little bit cynical and perceived this with a sufficient grain of realism, and understood that this power was abnormal. Now, of course, we have got away from this superpower mentality, and, thank God, our life forced us to do this. But, I hope that we will remain a great power. [passage omitted]

[Migranyan] Sergey. Is there a certain continuity in the policy of Russia in comparison with the Union policy? I personally have the feeling that the crumbling foreign policy which the Union had—and in this regard, I am very critical of Shevardnadze's policy, not of the strategic aims of this policy, but of how it was technically implemented—that a certain collapse is still continuing in Russian foreign policy. Is my feeling correct?

[Lavrov] Well, I personally do not have any doubt that there is continuity. It is both positive and negative. The continuity, evidently, is positive in those principles which Andranik has just said—which you also agreed with and which, evidently, it is difficult to refute—and in embarking on a normal, civilized conversation with the whole world and of arranging our affairs in compliance with international law. But the negative side is that...

[Migranyan, interrupting] But how is this to be done? You have to agree that, possessing these noble aims, we did not manage to do this within the framework of the Union, and we simply collapsed. And the domestic collapse turned out to be in some sense an addendum to the foreign collapse that also took place.

[Lavrov] Let us put it like this—if we look at what we should compare with what has happened, if it is compared with the fact that we should not have broken too far away from the development of events within the Union, then evidently, yes, we should agree that internal policies have run away from us. But if they had not run away, would this have helped us to break, generally, the system of totalitarianism within the country? I think that there is no unambiguous answer here. In other words, if we, in proclaiming these principles, had moved very slowly toward the attainment of them, this would not have helped to shatter the system under which we all suffered and which we have all decided to renounce.

[Klyamkin] I have another question on this. You said that Russia would remain a great power. It would be rather absurd to argue with this, all the more so as this has been reinforced by its status—it is a member of the Security Council. It is, in this sense, the successor of the Soviet Union. However, the position of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been criticized for this. In particular, it has been reproached for its position—it has been put abstractly, in such a general form—for its ideological approach and for the fact that it appears not to be evident what lies behind this. Whether genuinely realistic and independent, policies lie behind it that correspond to the status of a great power, that is to be ascertained by those claims which you are speaking about.

[Lavrov] In general, in the same way as the situation within the country pulled us backwards and the movement forward, therefore in many ways, led to the collapse that I spoke about before, something similar is happening now. Because having maintained that we are a great state and having received a place as a permanent member on the Security Council, we find ourselves under conditions which our president recently called a constitutional crisis, and the processes of establishing our statehood are far from having been completed.

Yes, the Federation Treaty is a very important step and a very important compromise. However, this is far from everything. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] Today, without a doubt, internal policies, that is, relations with Commonwealth states, are the most interesting part of foreign policy and the most interesting part of diplomacy. Tell me, what, ending this topic with the completely far-away foreign lands, what specifically are the basic principles? What is new now in your approaches to international affairs outside the boundaries of the CIS?

[Lavrov] It is very difficult to isolate foreign policy...

[Migranyan, interrupting] Let me define some of the points in connection with this issue a little more precisely; this might perhaps permit you to answer the question better. When we were studying a course at our institute, I remember that we were taught that American foreign policy is constructed on the basis of a representation of two schools—the school of political idealism and the school of political realism. We are getting the feeling today that the school of political idealism is gaining supremacy in Russia. And when people say that we should be civilized, we should walk alongside the West and all of the civilized countries, here it seems problems of the specific national and state interests of Russia are undoubtedly left out. And for this reason, does it not seem that in connection with this we need to more distinctly formulate our aims in our foreign policy and our national interests so that we do not obtain, say, very negative consequences that we could have for the sake of transitory and dubious, let us say, praise that we are civilized?

[Lavrov] I consider that if the impression is created of our present foreign policy as excessively idealistic, that should not happen.

[Migranyan] It is idealism in reverse. If formerly our idealism was in every respect against the West, today it is in every respect ..... [words indistinct as both talk at once]

[Lavrov] I am not in favor of rose-colored spectacles, and I do not think our leadership is either.

[Migranyan] But real politics...

[Lavrov, interrupting] If that is so, let us—you are prompting me, correcting me... [laughter] [sentence not finished as heard]

[Lyubimov] Let us talk about foreign politicy within the CIS. [passage omitted] On our program, we say fairly often how specific political mistakes lead to bloodshed. Sergey Viktorich, please tell us, can diplomacy save the CIS in principle?

[Lavrov] Naturally, diplomacy on its own cannot do that, but it can help. We saw that the first subject dealt with how diplomats often corrected mistakes in the hasty hot-tempered statements of individual leaders of the state of Russia, of the Russian state that was taking shape at that time. I think that it can help a great deal even now.

[Lyubimov] You know that Igor Yavlinskiy once told me that in economic sciences the profession of pathologist is not provided for, but is it provided for in diplomacy?

[Lavrov] Well, I think it is better to talk about therapy, about averting what might happen.

[Lyubimov] Thank you. I suggest that this problem be discussed together with the minister of foreign affairs of the Ukraine. Hello, Kiev. Let us have your questions please. [Ukrainian foreign minister appears on a screen at the back].

[Migranyan] The idea is that it is possible within the framework of the CIS for several states to be able to establish closer relations on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. What will the position of Ukraine be in this event? Can Ukraine become part of a closer, coordinating structure within the framework of the CIS or does Ukraine not see itself in this light?

[Zlenko] Before answering your question, let me greet you and your viewers, who enjoy this program. I will now answer your question. Naturally, we welcome it—and will not object—if a certain group of states, which currently belong to the CIS, wish to form a union of some kind. The Asian Republics have just held another meeting at which they worked out their approaches and policies and issued a statement to this effect. I believe that any state or group of states is entitled to unite with others. As far as Ukraine is concerned, we would prefer at this stage to state succinctly and clearly that it is not expedient at the moment for us to join any coordinating structures.

[Lyubimov] Thank you. Andrey Vladimirovich [as heard—Zlenko's name and patronynic are "Anatoliy Maksimovich"], it is quite strange to think that both you and Minister Kozyrev find a common language with Baker, for example, but you have these differences with each other. It is very strange that two Slav states cannot get along with each other, although everybody gets along with America. We have just put the same question to the Russian deputy foreign minister, who is here in the studio. Don't you think this is rather an absurd situation? Maybe we are all too concerned with ephemera, we just do not understand what is happening in the world, where it is going. Maybe we are obsessed with our own complexes, so to speak. Doesn't that apply to us, to you and, generally speaking, to everybody living in the CIS?

[Zlenko] There is no need to exaggerate. We have good relations with Kozyrev, and with Baker. In general, we believe that our foreign policy should be a peaceful policy in which relations with all other states are based on equity and mutual advantage. So, don't read something into this which is not there.

[Lyubimov] No...

[Zlenko, interrupting] I consider...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] As I understand it, neither you nor Kozyrev are discussing the problem of Alaska with Baker. But Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet are being discussed. That is very strange.

[Zlenko] Naturally. But it is not Ukraine that is raising these issues. It is not its fault, so to speak, that these questions are being discussed.

[Klyamkin] If there is a Commonwealth, if there is some kind of unified grouping, then there has to be a common interest. The way Ukraine—and not just Ukraine, I stress—is behaving on the international arena gives one the impression that foreign policy is becoming an instrument for the resolution of domestic problems, problems within the CIS, for changing one's status within the CIS.

[Zlenko] Let's take Ukraine, its foreign policy, its concept of foreign policy. I would like to point out that our concept of foreign policy is absolutely clear. The same applies to the way we see the development of our relations with Western states, our concept of Eastern policy, our concept of relations with CIS states, and so on and so forth.

[Migranyan] At an official state level, Yeltsin, the Congress, and the foreign minister all speak of the need to strengthen the CIS, to set up coordinating structures within the CIS. Kiev, on the other hand, says the opposite. On the one hand, we hear that the CIS is a step toward a civilized divorce and the dismantling of the Union. On the other hand, we hear calls from various sides for the Ukraine to leave the CIS.

[Zlenko] Yes, I would like to say quite clearly that this is a view that is being espoused by more and more people in Ukraine—and not only in Ukraine. I have just heard

what the conference of Central Asian republics had to say about this. People are coming around to the view that the CIS has not done what it was meant to do. In our republic, there are certain parties that have questioned the expedience of Ukraine's further participation in this entity. One cannot but agree with the view of Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, the Ukrainian president, on this. He believes that the CIS has not yet justified its existence, above all because the Commonwealth member states are not implementing the various decisions and agreements that they have signed. So we see that this entity is being undermined right from the start. The question naturally arises: is there any point in the continued existence of this body, of this organism? [passage omitted]

[Migranyan] I should like in this instance to redirect a question to Serezha [Lavrov]. Sergey, can it be said that in order to save the CIS in one form or another one can actually discern in Russian policies a certain line toward relations on several levels between Russia and—in other words, bilateral, multilateral, and so on?

[Lavrov] I believe that where our national interest is concerned, there cannot be one that operates within the CIS and another abroad. The national interest for any power is a very simple matter—something that can be formulated in what could even be termed a primitively simple manner. It is something along the lines of: it is better to be healthy and rich than poor and sick. We have tried to formulate those national interests in terms of particular subject areas, when we have submitted materials to the Supreme Soviet: namely, safeguarding our security and sovereignty and the territorial integrity of our federative state; promoting in all possible ways the creation of a dynamic market economy oriented to human needs; promoting in all possible ways the establishment and endorsement of democratic institutions; defending human rights in all possible ways on a two-way basis—the rights of Russians abroad, and the defense of the rights of citizens of other countries on the territory of Russia. That is probably the fundamental set from which—plus endorsement, as a result of everything I have just mentioned, endorsement of Russia as a great power on the world scene—this as something that flows from everything else.

And so, both within the CIS and in far-flung foreign parts, for me that is our basic interest.

The second thing that I would like to say is yes, I agree that the idea of multi-planarity [mnogo-urovennost], perhaps a better term needs to be found, concentric circles, or something like that, or some kind of coincidental zones. After all, it is not obligatory for interests to coincide in every specific section of the CIS's activity. Well, putting it bluntly, nuclear weapons, the problem of cutting strategic offensive weapons and the implementation of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons directly affect four states on the territory of the former USSR. This is being dealt with now in order to guarantee the implementation of our international obligations, the implementation and observation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. There you have four states which, at least for as long as we still have what we should cut under the treaty, have obvious common interests.

Economic reform: not everybody wants to keep in step with us on questions of economic reform. Russia has reached agreement with Kazakhstan on this. I think this was one of the breakthrough stages on the path of the development of the states on the territory of the former Union. Let's not fear this complex interweaving! Let's look for in it, on the contrary, a chain which can be stretched out to all and through which all may survive.

[Lyubimov] Thank you, Sergey Viktorovich, for taking part in our program. Thank you for your optimism. [passage omitted]

Komsomol Holds 'Restoration Congress'

Ligachev Attends

PM2704090392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 92 First Edition p 1

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA-ITAR-TASS "News" roundup column: "Komsomol Still Alive"]

[Text] The 23d, Restoration Congress of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol [Young Communist League] was held in the settlement of Mendeleyevo outside Moscow 18-19 April. The meeting participants (about 100 delegates from Russia, Byelarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltic region) stated the need for the immediate restoration of the CPSU's activity and demanded the resignation of the government and the Russian president. An appeal was issued to young people to fight for the victory of socialism and the restoration of the USSR.

The appearance of the congress' esteemed guest, Yegor Ligachev, enthusiastically dispensing autographs, caused a noticeable stir at the Komsomol forum. In his speech he inveighed against the press, which in his opinion has retreated from the problems of extolling honest labor and is engaged in propagandizing a get-rich-quick and money-mad ethic. All our country's woes stem from the anticommunist nature of the reforms, Ligachev stated. "I will help the All-Union Lenin Komsomol in every way," the former ideologist and custodian of agriculture promised.

All the signs suggest that it is now possible not to be concerned for the fate of the Komsomol.

Congress 'Sad and Comic'

PM2704130992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy: "Not Parting Company with the Komsomol"]

[Text] April 18-19 the revivalist 23d Congress of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League

[Komsomol] was held in the "Metrolog" House of Culture in the city of Mendeleyevo, Moscow Oblast.

It was a strange spectacle—sad and comic at the same time. Because of the company—participants and guests. A youth leader (wearing a necktie and with stars on his sleeve), not in the first flush of youth but with the gaze of a young eagle, the correspondent of a U.S. communist weekly, apparently still in existence, who has outlived all our general secretaries, pretty young creatures from North Ossetia selling newspapers with one-fourth of a page taking up by a portrait of Stalin... And the "VIP," who is de rigueur at such meetings—Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, casting a businesslike eye over the "younger generation," in exactly the same way as he inspected an exhibition of agricultural equipment at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements a mere two years ago.

What were they intending to revive in the "Metrolog" House of Culture? Strictly speaking, an obsolete organization that exhausted itself in every respect, that recognized its own uselessness and futility and disbanded itself without too much fuss. It was an act of some bravado on the part of the revivalist organizers to claim direct succession to an organization which has not even provoked ridicule of late. But bravado, good old Komsomol bravado, was sadly lacking. None of your groups of people loudly chanting "Lenin! The party! Kom-so-mol!" No notebooks containing poems by the CPSU general secretary, dredged up from God knows where...

Actually, the CPSU and its spirit were highly visible at the congress. The program documents, where they talked about the "ideological education sphere," set it out in black and white: "Struggle to strengthen the communist movement in the country and the world; resumption of the activities of a unified communist party of the Soviet Union; creation of a communist international." And, of course, the "education of young people in the principles of communist continuity." And the old struggle for "income from labor, not from capital, for social (collective) ownership of the means of production, against privatization of state enterprises." Finally, the struggle once more—this time for the edification of "treacherous presidents"—for the "restoration of a unified socialist state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The congress participants and guests spent two days absorbing this pabulum. Following the Politburo custom of assessing the "present situation," Yegor Kuzmich revealed that the sole task of the "so-called democrats" is to "seduce and corrupt young people." It is true, though, that the only people chuckling were my journalist colleagues. When Jason Rabinovich [surname as transliterated], coordinator of the young communist party of the United States, announced that "millions derive inspiration from your struggle," a certain awkwardness was apparent even among the participants. But when the same "U.S. comrade" invited everyone to fly to his place in the United States immediately and "see for themselves, if they do not believe it already, that capitalism is a system of legalized robbery," the actual congress organizers were unable to suppress a smile.

So, as one of the speakers in the "Metrolog" House of Culture remarked: "Thanks for the congresss, you guys..."

'Hope' for Integration in Commonwealth Seen

LD2604151592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The numerous problems that have emerged in the relations between the Commonwealth states seem to justify most grim forecasts about the viability of the alliance that appeared on the ruins of the former Soviet Union. The Commonwealth has failed to become an effective machinery for coordinating interests of its member states. It has even failed to set up elementary coordinating bodies to perform the task. In addition, some of the members were resolutely opposed to this.

Customs barriers, trade wars and rejection of a single currency have become a reality. Instead of creating a unified armed force the states have started to form national armies, which in turn give rise to disputes over the division of the military units and weapons. Take, for one, the dispute between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet and part of the armed forces, including strategic. But most dangerous for the Commonwealth are ethnic and interstate conflicts and territorial claims.

The attempts of some Russian politicians and former Union's apparatchiks to revive the Soviet Union also serve as a destabilizing factor, and the Congress has proved this. The neighboring states disapprove of the demands to reconsider the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine, to defend the Russian-speaking population, and others that are being voiced there. By the way, the problem of legal and social protection of the national minorities in the republics of the former Soviet Union is also fraught with danger for the future of the Commonwealth. Deep political, social, economic, religious and cultural differences between the states, as well as foreign policy preferences, may also be seen as serious obstacles to forming an effective Commonwealth.

Still, it would be wrong to claim the Commonwealth has no chance to survive. Let's hope the trends of international integration that now prevail in the world will get better on the territory of the former Soviet Union. They've already begun to show up at least at a regional level. The summit of the former Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan has proved this. The idea of forming a political and economic nucleus within the framework of the Commonwealth to advance integration is gradually becoming dominant in Russia's foreign policy, too. The beginning was made at the Russian-Kazakh meeting at government level in Uralsk. Shortly, similar talks will be held with Byelarus and Kyrgyzstan.

Presenting the strategy at the congress, the Russian foreign minister, Kozyrev, said that Russia had to choose between a hard and stage-by-stage process of the Commonwealth formation and an uncontrollable disintegration, between building a belt of friendship around itself or the Yugoslav variant of using force.

Survey on Status of Russians in Republics

OW2504001892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1753 GMT 24 Apr 92

[From "Nation & Society"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The formation of a group of independent states instead of the former Soviet union republics has signaled the emergence of a new geopolitical entity which is often referred to as the Near Foreign Countries, their more exact definition being the New Foreign Countries. Some of them resolved to jointly institute a Commonwealth of Independent States. Others are abstaining from this process in spite of their obvious interest in maintaining all-round relations with Russia.

The emergence of the New Foreign Countries has brought about an entirely new problem, such as the destiny of Russian nationals who, owing to various reasons, have become residents there.

According to the 1989 census, residing in the New Foreign Countries were nearly 28 mil. [million] people representing the nationalities which had established themselves as national state formations on the territory of Russian Federation. Therefore, every fifth resident in the New Foreign Countries belongs to the Russian Sector of the New Foreign Countries (RSNFC).

In those countries, the number of ethnic Russians amounts to 25.3 mil. people or nearly 91% of the RSNFC residents. Among the other most numerous nationalities, Tatars comprise 1,127,000 people, (4%), Jews 841,000 (3%), and Ossets 148,000 (0.7%).

Distribution of Indigenous Nationalities in Russia (based on 1989 census*)

	Number of Nationals (thousand people)	Distribution			
		In Russia		Outside Russia	
		thousand people	(%)	thousand people	(%)
Russians	145,155	119,866	82.6	25,289	17.4
Balkars	85	78	91.8	7	8.2
Bashkirs	1,449	1,345	92.8	104	7.2
Buryats	421	417	99.0	4	1.0
Jews	1,378	537	39.0	841	61.0
Ingushes	237	215	90.7	22	9.3
Kabardians	391	386	98.7	5	1.3
Kalmuks	174	166	95.4	8	4.6
Karelians	131	125	95.4	6	4.6
Komi	345	336	97.4	9	2.6
Marians	671	644	96.0	27	4.0
Mordovians	1,154	1,073	93.0	81	7.0
Ossets	598	402	67.2	196	32.8
Tatars	6,649	5,522	83.0	1,127	17.0
Tuvians	207	206	99.5	1	0.5
Udmurts	747	715	95.7	32	4.3
Chechens	957	899	93.9	58	6.1
Chuvashes	1,842	1,774	96.3	68	3.7
Yakuts	382	380	99.5	2	0.5
Total:	162,973	135,086	82.9	27,887	17.1

* The Table includes only the indigenous nationalities of the autonomous republics of Russian Federation

The problems of the Russian nationals in the Near Foreign Countries are further aggravated by the fact that the indigenous population of the former Soviet Union republics often associate with them the infamous policy the Center has been pursuing for many years.

The bulk of the Russians are concentrated in following four former Soviet Union republics. Residing in Ukraine are 44.9 per cent of Russian nationals, in Kazakhstan 24.6 per cent, in Uzbekistan 6.5 per cent, and in Byelarus 5.3 per cent.

The total number of Russians presently residing in those four republics amounts to 20,570,000 people, which is 81.3 per cent of all the Russians living in the Near Foreign Countries.

The migration of population between Russia and the former Soviet Union republics, presently sovereign republics of the New Foreign Countries, has seen a dramatic rise in the recent years. It is becoming no longer possible to regulate it by the traditional control methods.

In 1985, the most intensive outflow of population originated from Kazakhstan, and in 1990, from Azerbaijan. On the average, the share of the Caucasian and Central Asian republics in the inter-republican migration process has risen from 44% (1976-1980) to 57% (1986-1990). In the same period, migration from the Slavic republics decreased, especially from Kazakhstan (from 41% to 20%), which fact is attributed to the improvement of its political relations with Russia.

Mounting national conflicts in various republics of the former Soviet Union which were often accompanied by violence have produced a dramatic increase of refugees to Russia. According to Russia's Ministry of Internal

Affairs, in the years 1989-1991, over 200,000 refugees came to Russia, their number in October, 1991, exceeding that of the same period of 1990 by 1.5 times.

The current changes in the inter-republican, now international, tendency for migration to Russia have been predicated by a number of objective and subjective factors which include:

(1) the socioeconomic crisis resulting from the disruption of the traditional economic links, transition to the market economy, structural reconstructions, conversion, etc. The inter-republican differences in the initial levels of development of productive forces and the populations' life standards stimulated the process of ousting the non-indigenous population, including the Russian nationals, as undesirable competitors at the market of goods, lodging, employment, and land;

(2) legal vulnerability of citizens, first and foremost, of the non-indigenous population, which provides grounds for their racial, religious, linguistic, and other forms of discrimination. This situation which historically originated under the conditions of the authoritarian state was even further aggravated in the process of sovereignty gaining efforts by the former Soviet Union republics. This trend found its expression in the new laws on the languages, citizenship, property, privatization, etc., which objectively worsened the working and living conditions of the Russian-speaking population in those republics, sometimes placing them at a disadvantage as regards the indigenous population;

(3) the incomplete process of the state "separation" of the New Foreign Countries on the one hand, and extremely vague contours if the CIS integration processes, on the other, leading to numerous conflicts among the republics, causing the Russian-speaking population, which is generally identified with Russia, to bear the brunt;

(4) the continuing political struggle in the republic which actively resort to playing the so-called "national card". Under the conditions of incipient democracy, against the backdrop of a low cultural and ethical level of civility, popular conscience insistently tends to produce the stereotypes of adversaries, opponents of national independence and democracy all of which qualities being attributed to the non-indigenous, including Russian-speaking, population;

(5) the increasing influence of the church on social life and, concomitantly, the inter-confessional conflicts resulting from the strife for the spheres of influence.

The interaction of the above reasons encouraged the migration activity on the part of Russians, as well as other nationals residing outside of Russia and having their own national and territorial formations on its territory. This process is likely to aggravate in the near future, assuming a global nature with serious, far-reaching political, demographic and economic consequences.

This situation cause Russia's authorities and social organizations to address the following two problems:

(1) elaboration of principles and forms of interaction between Russia and the other countries (former Soviet Union republics) with Russian residents. Adoption of Russia's state policy in regards to the Russians residing in the New Foreign Countries appears to be an objective by far more important than current economic and military issues. Russia needs a long-term state strategy of interaction with the countries hosting Russian nationals. This may also require an institution of a conformable liaison structure;

(2) insurance of civilized forms of migration back to Russia of the Russian nationals who can no longer stay at their old places. Such migration processes ought to be legally founded, and Russia has to provide adequate conditions for easy adaptation of the re-settlers on its territory, including their employment, housing, etc. According to the estimates made by the Labor and Employment Ministry, the housing and social conditioning of a single migrant would require 168,000 rubles in the prices of 1991.

Understandably, coordinated efforts by the governments of the former Soviet Union republics are required to preclude a forcible emigration of Russian nationals, which affects thousands of people, and causes many independent republics to shut down a great number of their enterprises. Essentially, the problems lies in the current economic decline of material production which is likely to develop into an economic crisis of underproduction resulting from insufficiency of qualified personnel, despite a probable excess of unqualified persons or workers.

Common sense prompts that the republics of the former Soviet Union cannot be interested in mass emigration of the RSNFC citizens. To illustrate this, in 1989, Russian nationals involved in non-agricultural spheres of the former Soviet Union (without Russia) comprised 24.3%, including 20% in industry, 24.3/

in construction and civil engineering, 25.8% in transportation, and 25.2% in communication.

In Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Estonia, the "indigenous" population comprises from one-fifth to less then half of all the work force involved in machine-building and metal machining industries. Analogous situation is observed in chemical industry and communication, as well as the railroad. One could refer to a number of other industries in almost all the former Soviet Union republics where the roles of the RSNFC qualified labor is exclusively great, the only exception being Armenia.

The share of specialists with higher education is much higher among the Russian nationals, as compares "indigenous" population. Mass dismissal of such employees in a great number of cases would be tantamount to shutting down a production with all the unpleasant consequences

not only for the economy of the republics which are getting rid of their international cadres, but also for the economies of the other countries of the former Soviet Union.

The solution of the problem of Russian national cadres in the RSNFC will determine how much time it would take them to stabilize the economic situation in the republics of the former Soviet Union and what expenditures that process would entail. It would be extremely important to make sure that the newly instituted friendly states would abstain from the actions stimulating any forcible emigration for the next 2-3 years.

Russia, naturally, is equally concerned over an influx of the RSNFC citizens. Additional investments would be required for house construction and providing many other things associated with normal life. The other difficulty lies in the fact that most migrants would need to be resettled predominantly in towns and cities. As a result, employment too is presenting a problem of its own. According to the most optimistic estimates, the immigrants would require at least two million working places, when Russia is expecting a rise of unemployment already this year. The Committee for Employment of Russian Federation expects that in 1992 the number of people applying for employment may rise to 6 mil. people. Cf., on February 1, 1992, their number comprised 484,000 people, all the applicants permanently residing in Russia.

The employment of immigrants in Russia, naturally, presupposes re-training of some of them. However, the institution of required training system has only just begun.

In outlining its political course in regards to its compatriots residing in the New Foreign Countries, Russia needs to proceed from proclaiming its direct responsibility for their destinies, strict adherence to the general norms of international law. This course should be consistently followed throughout the negotiations which Russia has initiated with the other newly established states. World history of international relations knows of such analogies: China has been maintaining close contacts with the Chinese nationals residing in other countries. Germany is pursuing a similar policy as regards ethnic Germans, including those residing in Russia. Obviously, Russia too should work out and consistently bring into life a program of support and protection of Russian nationals, especially in the New Foreign Countries. It should adhere to this program in all the directions of its state policy—in the political, economic, military and other areas.

National Space Agencies Approve Regulations

LD2404230592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1655 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—A package of documents regulating activity in space and the procedure for using space infrastructure in the interests of the countries of the Commonwealth for examination and approval at a routine meeting of the CIS heads of government was elaborated at the conference of leaders of the national space agencies and of experts of Azerbaijan, Byelarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine and also of representatives of the strategic forces, which took place here on 20-22 April.

Conference participants confirmed the need for the efforts of Commonwealth states to be united in space activity.

Media

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Apr

LD2804064292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0446 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Moscow April 28 ITAR-TASS—The Moscow newspapers on Tuesday [28 April] gave a wide coverage to Russia's joining the IMF and promises of the G-7 industrialised countries to render Russia a 24 billion U.S. dollar assistance package.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA wrote that the question of Russia's joining the IMF and the World Bank is practically resolved, Western recent remarks about Russian Government's inconsistency were made with educative purposes. [sentence as received] And they were meant for their top level supporters and opponents rather than for the team of reformists themselves. Thus the IMF warnings should not be met too seriously. In fact, the readiness of the Western partners to share the views with the reformists' team is much more vigorous than necessary, the newspaper wrote.

A well-known economist, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy wrote in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that the 24 billion dollar assistance might prove very useful, but only if the country knows how to use the assistance. If the government is not efficient, wise and reasonable enough in using the credits, they may bring very serious losses. The trust of the people, not the money is at stake now, he wrote.

"It is not clear where the IMF is going to get the money from,"—RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA wrote—"if the U.S. Congress does not approve a 12 billion increase of its share in the IMF, which it is reluctant to do: U.S. problems come first, and only then does the assistance".

Reporting on President Yeltsin's visit to the northern space launch pad of Plesetsk, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA mused that due to present- day realities the place could be used as the first Russian launch pad for manned spacecraft.

Energy crisis threatens the country, "Russia's Coal" Corporation Chairman Valeriy Zaidenberg told a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent. Because of the inadequacy of capital investment, the capacities for coal

mining reduced by 19.2 million tons [as received] last year...It is true, however, that reduction rate is slower now—2.1 per cent this quarter of the year instead of the last year's 11, he added.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote that opposition to President Boris Yeltsin became a much stronger political force after the Sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies. The task is, by increasing the efforts, to turn the parliamentary opposition into an undoubtable factor of political life, the newspaper wrote.

According to PRAVDA, the new left, the democratically oriented patriots, all those, to whom ideals of national independence, democracy and social justice are dear, must unite their efforts to form a coalition which will lead the country out of the crisis.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, referring to leader of Russian president's staff Petrov wrote that some committees and commissions which are appearing under the Yeltsin staff will be reduced, although the staff itself will be only slightly modified.

Lada automobile plant Director General Vladimir Kadannikov told TRUD the plant had nothing else to do but to raise the price for its cars yesterday. We had to choose—either to close the plant down completely or to produce the cars at exorbitant prices, he said—and we chose the least of the two evils.

International Affairs

Yeltsin on IMF Relations, Government Reshuffle

LD2804095292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0858 GMT 28 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Speaking to reporters at the gangway of his plane, which is to take him to Archangel and several other northern Russian cities, Yeltsin said that "This is my planned tour of regions, where I have never been. Moreover, problems of the north were discussed by the 6th Congress of People's Deputies. The Severodvinsk military base is a very important forepost of Russia. There are large metallurgical centres in Cherepovets, Vologda region".

Asked whether Russia's entry into the International Monetary Fund would not produce cataclysms, as it happened in some developing states that complied with the fund's requirements, Yeltsin said: "We do not want to work under the IMF's dictate. Not all our views coincide and we shall uphold our stand".

The president believes that relaxation of the taxation policy will be effected gradually and mainly in the second half of the year. His official visit to Washington and participation in the G-7 meeting in Munich are to dot the i's. "We shall find common language," Yeltsin said with confidence.

Questioners wanted to know about the promised reshuffle of the government. Yeltsin said that the entire industrial complex was to be reorganised. "Something quite unthinkable has been done there. As many as 24 departments were set up. We must simplify our system of management and to reform it in such a way as to make a comeback of the command system absolutely impossible," he stated. Yeltsin told correspondents that a commission was set up to draw up corresponding proposals.

"I think," he said, "we shall adopt such a decision approximately a week or 10 days from now. Four ministers will probably be dismissed."

However, Yeltsin did not name these ministers.

Notes Disagreements With IMF

LD2804093692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Videotape report by V. Perfilyev from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin set off on a three-day trip this morning to a number of cities of Russia. He will visit Archangel, Severodvinsk, Mirnyy and Cherepovets. Correspondent V. Perfilyev reports:

[Perfiliyev] Preflight news conferences by the president of Russia are becoming a good tradition and journalists, of course, strive not to miss the opportunity of asking Boris Nikolayevich the most burning questions, of making some forecasts, and drawing attention to a situation of social significance, such as, for instance, the state of Russia's mutual relations with the IMF.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] We do not concur with the opinion of the IMF on everything, and we will defend our point of view, although we do not envisage the immediate relaxation of the taxation policy, or, well, its liberalization, but gradually, in stages and, in the main, that will concern the second half of the year and not the first. Probably, therefore—the official visit to Washington, and then the sitting of the G-7 in Munich—all the i's will be dotted finally there. We will find a common language.

[Perfilyev] And what are the main aims of this trip?

[Yeltsin] The tasks of the trip are this: The first is the continuation of the working, planned trips to regions of Russia which I have not yet visited, especially the north, after the discussion of the problems of the north at the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies; the second—well, Vologda oblast, Cherepovets—that's metallurgy, and well, the military base at Severodvinsk—they are very serious questions which will have to be examined. Second, [as heard] after the sixth congress, when we stated that certain amendments would have to be introduced into the reforms, certain amendments, not strategic action, but technical, tactical and concerning some time-limits for reorienting them a bit toward the social sphere, well, people are talking in the localities in such conditions. We must listen to people, to what they have to say, about what direction the amendments should take, how they are living today, how they tolerate us and also the congress, too. [end recording] [video shows Yeltsin walking from airport building onto tarmac, accompanied by Rutskoy, Shaposhnikov and others, shaking hands with them before boarding his aircraft, final shot of seeing-off party]

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1028 GMT on 28 April in a similar report on Yeltsin's news conference before his departure for Archangel adds: "'We do not want to plunge head over heels and grab all the $24 bn,[billion]'—[Yeltsin] stressed,—'we are acting very cautiously and will take strictly defined amounts of dollars for concrete programs, including $6 bn on stabilizing the ruble.' As for credits for purchasing goods, President Yeltsin said one should be very careful with them and sometimes be patient and not rush for all the chances.

["He felt tha: such a stand will help Russia avoid the social upheavals that shook some third world countries after they carried out the demands of the IMF in full.

["The Russian leader said that tax liberalization will be gradual and take place mostly in the second half of the year, not tomorrow."

["On the issue of the Kuril islands Boris Yeltsin said that his viewpoint has not changed: 'I don't have anything new'."]

Gaydar Arrives in Washington for IMF Session

LD2604193392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1830 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Text] A session of the governing bodies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development opens in Washington on 27 April. Our correspondent Boris Kalyagin reports:

[Begin Kalyagin recording] The upcoming session promises to be a historic one. It is expected to make a decision on admitting Russia and other CIS countries to the IMF. Michel Camdessus, IMF executive director, said the following in conversation with your correspondent.

[Camdessus in English, fading to Kalyagin translation to Russian] We have proposed admitting your countries as members of the Fund. The Fund directors, the finance ministries of the entire Western world, are to vote on this resolution. The results of the ballot will be announced after 12 noon on Monday. I'm sure the results will be positive: this is an event we have been aiming for for the last 45 years.

[Kalyagin] A representative Russian delegation led by Yegor Gaydar, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, has arrived in Washington to take part in the International Monetary Fund session. The head of our delegation is expected to address the meeting of the Fund executive board. [end recording]

Assures G-7 Ministers on Reform

LD2704171392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] A session of the Interim Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund, the highest body of this organization, opened in Washington today. Here is what Boris Kalyagin, our correspondent, reported from Washington.

[Kalyagin] Today's meeting promises to be a historic one. The matter of admitting Russia and other countries of the CIS into the IMF is expected to be settled at it. A proposal to this effect was submitted to the Fund's Executive Committee for approval by the Board of Governors. The result of the vote on this resolution should be announced as midnight approaches in Moscow. But it is in no doubt. The finance ministers of the Western world intend to come out in favor of Russia and 13 of the former republics of the Soviet joining the Monetary Fund. There has been a slight delay only with regard to Azerbaijan, and voting on its admission has been postponed until 4 May. Matters of assistance to our country are also to be debated comprehensively at today's session, in particular the setting up of a ruble stabilization fund.

A delegation of the Government of the Russian Federation, headed by Yegor Gaydar, first deputy chairman of the government, will take part in this debate.

Yesterday, the head of our delegation met representatives of the seven leading industrial states. Our Western partners were concerned by the criticism leveled against the government's economic policy at the recent Congress of People's Deputies. Western ministers were worried about whether we are intending to change our economic course.

Yegor Gaydar assured them that the Russian Government intends to follow the policy of the planned reforms. For their part, the G-7 ministers confirmed their willingness to give financial backing to the reforms in Russia and this year have already allocated $24 billion for these purposes.

Notes Importance of U.S. Stand

LD2704111392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1045 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Avel Vanichkin and Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—G-7 finance ministers and central bank governors met here on Sunday with Russia's First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and other Russian representatives, who have come here to attend the springtime sessions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

"The historic developments in Russia were discussed", says a statement released after the meeting.

The finance ministers and heads of G-7 central banks welcomed the reforms effected in Russia. They stressed that there was no reasonable alternative to a market economy in Russia. In light of this, they persistently urged Russia and the IMF to quickly complete their talks on comprehensive stabilisation and on the programme of reforms. This programme envisages a reduction of the budget deficit with a view to stabilising the economy and reducing the role of the government, restricting the growth of the money in circulation in order to check the inflation, and stopping the further crediting of unprofitable enterprises. The programme also envisages the creation of legal foundations and the introduction of contractual rights, necessary to develop a market economy, including privatisation and private property, reform of the agrarian and energy sectors to ensure the growth of production and earn freely convertible currency.

In this context the meeting participants expressed their adherence to the policy of helping Russia carry out its reforms at the present difficult period by granting it 24 billion U.S. dollars in the form of a versatile package of financial aid within the frameworks of a programme agreed with the IMF.

"Speaking about the meeting", Gaydar told ITAR-TASS after the talks, "It should be noted that its participants have expressed, on the one hand, proper understanding of the task in hand and a real desire to help Russia by providing it with substantial financial means. On the other hand, they fear a relaxation of our reform efforts. In light of the recent Congress of People's Deputies, there are fears that obstacles may appear on the way to the allocated large sums of money, which may interfere with the reforms in Russia. There are also apprehensions about the stability and inviolability of the reforms announced by the Russian leadership".

"But we have received a mandate from the Congress of People's Deputies and we are eager to press on without straying from the chosen course", Gaydar said. "As far as I understand, we were able to convince the G-7 that we do not intend to alter our course. Of course, very much depends on the United States, on the stand of U.S. Congress. However, everybody, it seems, understands the importance of this historical moment, is aware of their historical responsibility for the processes now occurring in Russia. Moreover, we shall coordinate our policy with other CIS nations, shall contribute to the rapid shaping of a market economy there, too".

"The support given to the government has noticeably increased lately", Gaydar stated. "However, the situation in the country remains difficult and explosive. And this is not accidental. This happens every time such radical democratic reforms are undertaken. On the whole, we are adhering to a policy which is regarded as the only justifiable one in our country's present situation. There is no other way".

Comments on G-7, IMF Concerns

PM2804134792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "G-7 Demand That Private Property Be Made Legal in Russia"]

[Excerpt] The G-7 has confirmed its readiness to assist the reforms in Russia with an aid package totaling $24 billion.

An announcement to this effect was made to Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar who, together with his team, met the finance ministers and directors of the central banks of the West's leading industrial powers in Washington on 26 April. According to Gaydar, the meeting was distinguished by "a real wish to help us, as well as concern that certain decisions made by the recent Congress of People's Deputies might impede our reforms."

Judging by the vice premier's remarks, these concerns had to do with the extent to which Russia's present government is stable, and the extent of the risk involved in investing money in Russia. Since their readiness to allocate $24 billion was confirmed nonetheless, we may assume that to a certain extent these fears and doubts were dispelled. The vice premier assured the G-7 that the Russian Government "does not intend to pussyfoot around and change course" and, with regard to the main terms on which the G-7 and the IMF are agreeing to help us, the Kremlin is taking or will soon begin to take measures.

Gaydar outlined three basic courses of action: A tough budget policy that will allow the level of the deficit to be reduced to 3 percent of GNP by the end of the current year; a tough monetary policy presupposing, among other things, an increase in the bank rate; and a unification of the foreign currency exchange rate—the introduction of one rather than a whole series of exchange rates—all of which Moscow will implement very soon, according to the vice premier.

With regard to the fund and the G-7's concern that Russia is continuing to subsidize unprofitable enterprises, Gaydar informed the ministers and directors that a law on bankruptcy would most likely be adopted by the end of May.

According to local press reports, as a condition of providing aid, the fund has also insisted that the price of Russian energy sources be increased to world levels. But in answer to a question I put to him on this matter, the vice premier said that this was a medium-term prospect—prices are not going to be increased immediately, but only by the end of next year, 1993.

Gaydar made one other interesting point when, after his meeting with the G-7, he also talked with Russian journalists: We do not believe, he said, that "reforms will only take place if we get money from the fund. We shall carry out the reforms in any case."

In its statement about the result of the discussions with Gaydar, the G-7 made it clear that they are prepared to finance the setting up of a ruble stabilization fund. For this purpose they plan to allocate $6 billion. If everything goes as planned, the stabilization fund will really start to function from 1 August. This is the Russian vice premier's forecast.

As regards other aspects of aid, the time frame for realizing these is not very clear at the moment. The Russian Government and parliament still have much work to do on fleshing out financial and economic policy, taking account of the terms put forward by the IMF. These include terms such as "establishing juridical frameworks and providing the contractual rights necessary for developing a market economy, including privatization and private property." The fact that the issue of land ownership remained unresolved yet again at the recent Congress of People's Deputies will hardly make the Russian Government's work with the fund any easier. [passage omitted]

Meets U.S. Business Leaders

LD2804041292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2013 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin and Vladimir Matyash]

[Excerpt] Washington, 27 Apr—Yegor Gaydar, Russian first deputy prime minister, met business representatives in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on 27 April. He sketched out the economic situation in Russia and spoke of priority measures the Russian Government intends to take in the next few weeks. The Russian first deputy prime minister described as a "turning point" for Russia the opening of its "economy to foreign private investment and its integration into the world market."

"We feel the agreements with the international financial organizations form an extremely important basis for the process of radical acceleration of direct foreign investments in the Russian economy," Ye. Gaydar stressed. "We are prepared to open practically all of its sectors." Noting the difficulties foreign investors encounter when attempting to penetrate the Russian markets, particularly the presence of "bureaucratic barriers," he said it should not be forgotten that "Russia is a country of tremendous opportunities. Potentially, it is the most important market in which to risk the capital which is always present in the world in fair quantity. In this way, I hope that we have a common future." Ye. Gaydar then met World Bank President Lewis Preston on deepening the exchange of opinion on questions of the main directions of development of cooperation between Russia and that international financial organization. "We had an extremely useful conversation," L. Preston told ITAR-TASS. "I feel that our cooperation will develop successfully at accelerating rates for the purpose of implementing important economic transformations in Russia." "The conversation showed," Ye. Gaydar noted in turn, "that good prospects are opening for an expansion of useful cooperation between the World Bank and Russia. The large financial funds being allocated by the IMF and the World Bank will help to carry out a radical economic reform in our country."

Today's main event was the announcement at the spring session of the IMF and World Bank of the decisions of the councils administering these two financial organizations to accept Russia and other former Soviet republics as members. Speaking on the occasion in the IMF, Ye. Gaydar said: "I thank you for granting me the opportunity to speak today before you concerning an extremely important event for us: the Russian Federation's joining the IMF.

"Russia stands at a crossroads. From years of conversations about reforms, we have come to real business, having started in January considerable progress toward a liberalized market economy. This was done under extremely difficult circumstances: the GNP fell 13 percent in 1991, the budget deficit amounted to more than 20 percent of the GNP, imports fell 46 percent, and the acceleration of inflation led to the complete collapse of the consumer market.

"The financial and monetary measures which have been adopted," the first deputy prime minister continued, "enabled Russia to avoid spiralling hyperinflation. The tough financial policy is not an aim in itself but a powerful and effective means. For the Russian Government, the time is now coming for a certain change of priorities. Without losing sight of the aim for macroeconomic stabilization, we intend to devote the closest attention to the problems of the macroeconomy and to pursue an active structural policy. Preparations are being made for mass privatization of major industrial enterprises which will be transformed into joint stock companies. Agrarian reform has moved out of deadlock. Major structural improvements will take place, especially in defense industry conversion.

Ye. Gaydar concluded: "Russia advocates the formation of a single economic space, the maximum possible maintenance and development of trade between the countries which formerly made up the USSR. Questions of economic relationships in the framework of the single economic space should be tackled on the basis of most favored nation treatment. Russia sees its contribution to the preservation and strengthening of such a space in the consolidation of the ruble and the preservation of the monetary system operating on its territory.

"We have embarked on a very difficult road of national rebirth. A democratic, free society based on a market economy is our main strategic task. To perform it requires time. In calculating on becoming an equal participant in international economic and political relations, we are glad that our efforts are meeting with understanding and support from the world financial community." [passage omitted]

Interviewed on Admittance to IMF

PM2804112992 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Apr 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Russian Federation Vice Premier Ye.T. Gaydar by correspondent V. Sisnev in Washington; date not given: "Currency for Reform. Russian and Other Commonwealth Countries Become IMF Members"]

[Text] Washington, 27 Apr—Many high-ranking officials and delegations from Moscow have stayed in the Madison Hotel. This is because it is located around the corner, as it were, from our embassy. The business program of their stay was always drawn up in advance, and we journalists knew where and when it would be possible to "catch" someone we needed for an interview. He could either consent or, as happened more frequently, decline to talk with a representative of his own press. I write this because a special point was included in this program for the first time: a meeting between the head of the government delegation and Russian journalists.

Thus, TRUD's correspondent was able without any effort to put questions of interest to Vice Premier Ye.T. Gaydar. A pleasant innovation, particularly as we are dealing with such an important event as Russia's admittance to the IMF.

To observe historical accuracy, we are probably, rather, returning to our financial roots. Many people do not even know that the IMF is a UN organ which was created back in 1944 with the approval of Stalin, but he then refused to join it. Until today the IMF had 156 member states. They will now be joined by the former republics of the USSR, which could already have been members for half a century but for Stalin's policy of isolation from the rest of the world.

The fund's activity is determined to a considerable degree by who heads it. Its eighth president is 58-year-old Michel Camdessus, who in January began his second five-year term of office. Previously he was head of the French state bank. Unlike his predecessors, Camdessus believes in the need not only for tough measures when implementing economic reforms but also for a social "safety net," which could alleviate the hardships of the needy. He is convinced that Russia and the other former Soviet republics have the right to count on the assistance of both the IMF and the West in general.

In his opinion, more than $100 billion will be required for this over the next four years. The bank itself will provide only a certain part of this amount, the rest being provided by bilateral agreements, whose fulfillment will only be coordinated by the IMF. Camdessus has repeatedly emphasized that, unless the IMF and "the seven" industrial powers help to extricate the CIS countries from economic chaos, a dictatorship could emerge there with a subsequent resumption of the "cold war." This means that the entire world community will be thrust far back.

The first thing I asked Yegor Gaydar about at the meeting in the Madison Hotel was how he would reply here to questions about the results of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies.

"I would reply that we wasted six weeks on political battles," the vice premier said. "But now, after the adopted declaration, which signifies a mandate of confidence, our political position is stronger than it was. There is the possibility of making up for lost time and making very rapid progress."

[Sisnev] Yegor Timurovich, you pointed out that the IMF is concerned over whether we will continue "fidgeting" and trying to change course. Do you not in your turn have worries about the IMF? For more than 50 countries are already carrying out IMF programs, and approximately 40 more are holding talks on the same subject. Michel Camdessus complains that IMF dues are not paid promptly, and the bank does not have the $60 billion stipulated. They voted to admit us, but what will the situation with regard to funds actually be?

[Gaydar] Of course, much depends on the Americans and on how soon they provide the $12 billion that President Bush has asked Congress for. But you know what is pleasant—it is the feeling that people here are conscious of their historical responsibility and of the priority nature of our needs. This makes it possible to resolve problems which, to tell the truth, used to strike me personally as insoluble. If someone had told me that four months after the start of whatever reforms, we would be offered a $24 billion aid package for a period of one year, I would have thought that person a dreamer. That is what I used to think; I did not count on so many zeros. Incidentally, we do not count on them even now—in the sense that we do not think: If we get this $24 billion, there will be reforms; if not, there will be no reforms. We are doing what we are doing because we believe that this is the most sensible policy, which should be implemented, and not because they give us so many billions for this.

[Sisnev] Could you describe briefly the basic terms on which they have agreed to admit us to the IMF? The thing is that Camdessus, when the bank is accused of the failure of a particular program, invariably replies: It only succeeds where all the IMF's conditions are fulfilled, not just some part of them.

[Gaydar] Certainly. The first condition is to maintain the level of the budget deficit within acceptable limits. Under our conditions this is no more than 5 percent of the GNP, with a gradual reduction to 3 percent by the end of the year. The second is a quite tough monetary policy, i.e. increasing the interest rate so as to restrict the demand for money, and not the way things are now, when it turns out that people give less than they take. Finally, standardization of the currency exchange rate. Not three, not five, not eight, but one exchange rate for the ruble against the dollar. These are the three main points, and there is no point in going into details now.

[Sisnev] I was recently speaking with your adviser, Professor Jeffrey Sachs. He said that with regard to stabilizing the ruble the same technique will be used as in Poland. The $6 billion being provided for this purpose might not actually be in the Russian Bank. But the very fact that it is generally known that this sum is available to us will have a decisive influence. Is this true?

[Gaydar] Pardon me, but half of the gold stocks of all the central banks of the world are kept not in their safes but in New York's Federal Reserve Bank. What does this change?

[Sisnev] Russia is ahead of the other CIS members in terms of the pace of reforms. But our borders are invisible, as it were. If we continue out in front, will it not happen that we will spread imperceptibly in all directions, overflowing nonexistent borders?

[Gaydar] Of course, we will coordinate our efforts and policy with the other CIS states, at least with some of them. Then we have customs agreements with some of them. In general, I believe that the group of states that is

ready to take our path will take shape quite quickly. Those that depart will essentially be those that want to leave the ruble zone.

[Sisnev] What was the chief argument that you advanced when trying to persuade people to vote for our admittance to the IMF?

[Gaydar] I suggested considering which risk was greater—acceptance of the decision or nonacceptance? For the process of economic reforms of this kind is always difficult and by its nature entails social conflict.

[Sisnev] To turn to the "domestic front," you are probably already accustomed to the charges that cooperation with the IMF will turn Russia into a dutiful slave. How do you react to this?

[Gaydar] My answer is simple. We are implementing the policy that we consider economically justified. It is determined by the position in which the country finds itself. We are not implementing it because the Monetary Fund imposes it on us but because we consider it correct.

[Sisnev] Does not he who pays us, the piper, have the possibility of calling the political tune?

[Gaydar] He has one possibility—to demand that sensible use is made of the money allocated to us. Membership in the IMF is a contract, and there are two sides to every contract, each with its own rights. In this case the second side perfectly logically wants its funds not to be spent again on crazy redistribution but to serve our country's real economic revival. So our interests do, I believe, coincide.

News Conference on Admission

LD2804075992 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0155 GMT 28 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington, 28 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Preparation's for Russia's admission to the IMF fund and the World Bank can be completed within the next month, Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier of the Russian Government, said on Monday. He was speaking at a news conference to announce the decision of the IMF and World Bank boards of governors to approve Russia's application to join these two international financial organizations. Gaydar mentioned that a session of the Russian Supreme Soviet will be held in May, and he expressed the hope that those taking part would be able to resolve all the remaining questions relating to joining the IMF and the World Bank.

Touching on the prospects for Russia's economic development, Gaydar voiced the supposition that the next two years will be very difficult ones. In particular, it cannot be excluded that the problem of unemployment will take an acute down-turn. Stressing that he is unwilling to make any precise forecasts because of the extremely indeterminate situation, he nevertheless declared that from the point of view of some problems, in particular the increase in the inflation rate, the worst is already behind us, and that with outside assistance it may be possible to overcome the economic slump next year. I hope that in five years' time Russia will be capable of stable economic growth, Gaydar said.

He highly appraised Western countries' adherence to the idea of granting aid to Russia. The West has shown that it is approaching our problems with the due degree of responsibility, the first vice premier of the Russian Govenment emphasized.

Intelligence Aide on Alleged Activities in U.S.

PM2404103692 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 92 p 3

[Viktor Linnik report commenting on ITAR-TASS New York report: "What's Sauce for the Goose..."]

[Text] New York, 22 Apr—The Bush administration has told Russia not to expect substantial assistance in combating crime, drug addiction, and terrorism while Russians continue active espionage activities in our country, officials report.

Wayne Gilbert, a ranking FBI staffer, and other officials have declared that the GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate], the former Soviet Union's military intelligence, has stepped up its efforts in gathering secrets pertaining to U.S. arms production technology.

GRU staffers are increasingly masquerading as tourists or businessmen which makes them much harder to detect than in the times when they all posed as Soviet diplomats or journalists, Gilbert said. [ITAR-TASS report ends]

I asked a ranking Soviet intelligence leader to comment on this report.

"I evaluate these statements," he told me over the telephone, "as an attempt to exploit our situation, to draw certain dividends from it. CIA Director R. Gates recently requested an extra $50 million to be added to the U.S. intelligence budget for what he termed 'the human factor' ("it is amazing how well the CIA has assimilated our expression from the perestroyka years," I thought immediately—V.L.). This refers to work with people, because equipment, even the most sophisticated equipment, cannot do the job," my interlocutor said further. "This was borne out by the events on the eve of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. U.S. intelligence was unable to predict it.

"I would like to say that every country must have its intelligence service. We do not organize our work today on a confrontational basis, we are not stepping on the Americans' toes. We are cutting back substantially both our presence and the scale of operations, which cannot be claimed about U.S. intelligence. The volume and intensity of its work are not subsiding."

Intelligence Service Appeals to CIA

LD2604162892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0910 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Text] The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service has appealed to its associates and colleagues from the United States Central Intelligence Agency to operate without moral pressure and provocations. This is reported by the MEGAPOLIS EKSPRES newspaper. According to Vadim Kiripichenko, the leader of a group of Russian intelligence consultants, the need to set up contacts between the two countries' intelligence services has forced them to take this step. The Russian side has put forward a proposal to reject the coercive recruitment of agents and the use of psychotropic means during objective inquiries.

Khasbulatov Arrives on Visit to Germany

LD2604181192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn April 26 ITAR-TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, the Russian parliamentary speaker, arrived for an official visit here on Sunday.

President of the Bundestag Rita Suessmuth welcomed the speaker of the Russian parliament at Cologne-Bonn airport decked out with state flags of Germany and Russia. Russian Ambassador to the FRG Vladislav Terekhov, representatives of the protocol department of the FRG Foreign Ministry and other officials were present.

During his stay in Bonn Khasbulatov will have several meetings with the president of the Bundestag on whose invitation he arrived in Germany. He will also have conversations with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, heads of the German parliamentary groups and business people. The speaker of the Russian parliament will also visit Bavaria and will familiarise himself in the transformation in the new federal land Saxony.

Holds Talks With Genscher

LD2704171192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Kalinintsev and Sergey Sosnovskiy]

[Text] Bonn April 27 TASS—Talks between Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Hans-Dietrich Genscher on Monday focussed on bilateral relations between Russia and Germany, according to the German Foreign Ministry press service.

Khasbulatov informed Genscher about political and economic reforms in Russia, and the dismantling of nuclear weapons, stationed in Byelarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Khasbulatov stressed the importance of complying with the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The sides agreed that cooperation in the energy and raw materials sector offers special opportunities for Germany and Russia.

The sides have agreed to work towards creating a European infrastructure, including in the sphere of energy, transport and telecommunications.

Interviewed on Talks With Genscher

LD2704140592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1202 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Kalintsev and Sergey Sosnovskiy]

[Text] Bonn, 27 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—Journalists gathered in the lobby of the German Foreign Ministry building were visibly disappointed. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who today met Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is here on an official visit, failed to let slip any word on the reasons for announcing his resignation. Ruslan Khasbulatov told journalists after his meeting with the doyen of world diplomacy: "The subject hardly arose during our talks."

In an interview with ITAR-TASS, he stressed that attention was mostly focussed on our domestic problems. "Genscher showed a lively interest in the relations between members of the Russian Federation and the outcome of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. It is no secret that there has been much speculation lately that Russia will suffer the same fate as the Soviet Union. But, as you know, we successfully concluded a Federation Treaty. We believe that the Germans take great interest in this matter and support our chosen way of handling it." "I personally prefer Ludwig Erhard's concept of a social market economy to that of Brittan's Chicago school. After talking with Genscher, my impression is that the Germans think that we would probably derive most benefit and results from a social orientation to the reforms currently underway," Khasbulatov commented.

The West, he continued, has a distorted perception of the latest Russian Congress of People's Deputies. The media often portrayed it as a battle between opponents and supporters of the reforms. "There are, of course, some who wish to go back to the old ways, but they are only isolated individuals. On the whole, people really are heart and soul in favor of our cause. Those who have arrived from the localities, and who are fully conversant with the situation there have been saying: We are not against the reforms, but we wish you would conduct them in a more competent and qualified way and make adjustments. Incidentally, during his closing speech, Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, put forward a whole range of interesting proposals on putting such adjustments into effect."

According to Ruslan Khasbulatov, during his meetings and talks in Bonn with Bundestag chairwoman Rita Suessmuth, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Wolfgang Boetsch, deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] parliamentary group, his clarifications of what actually happened at the congress were received with satisfaction. "It would be ridiculous to accuse the Russian Parliament of being against the reforms," Khasbulatov stressed.

"Hans-Dietrich Genscher is an experienced diplomat. Therefore, he displayed particular interest in the relations between the Commonwealth members. These matters concern us first and foremost. Tens of millions of people share a common destiny in the CIS, not to mention the 25 million Russians who live in other republics. A total of 80 million people have moved outside the republic that they consider their home. Establishing borders, complicated relations, and levelling major territorial claims means complicating the lives of tens of millions of our compatriots. I have already spoken out about this," the speaker of the Russian parliament commented. Speaking on the subject of Russo-German relations, Khasbulatov voiced the opinion that Germany is willing not to restrict itself to humanitarian aid. "It is time to move on to a form of direct investment and input of capital. True, in this respect the Germans point out that our legislation is not yet ready for this. They are partially right, but not completely. In practice, the Western businessman who wants to open up a business in our country has all the legal foundations in place to do so. But we are aware of Western businessmen's concerns: The crime rate in Moscow, rubbish in the city center, and impassable mud. This does of course drive investors away," Ruslan Khasbulatov said.

Further on Khasbulatov Talks

WA2704120492

For reportage on the visit by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, to Germany, including reports on his talks with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, please see the Germany section of the 27 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Federation Affairs

Petrov on Resignation, Resumption of Duties

OW2704223392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Interview with Yuriy Petrov, "head of the President's Administration," by Presidential Bulletin editor Boris Grishchenko at the Kremlin; date not given; from the "Presidential Bulletin"—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last Thursday [23 April], the President of Russian Federation declined a request for resignation from Yuriy Petrov, head of the President's Administration, which he submitted on April 6. Boris Grishchenko, editor of the Presidential Bulletin, met with Yuriy Petrov, who had resumed his duties, in the Kremlin and interviewed him.

[Grishchenko] Yuriy Vladimirovich, how did you motivate your request for resignation from the office you were holding? What did Boris Yeltsin do to convince you to take it back?

[Petrov] My step was prompted by two reasons. First, by a smear campaign against me, accusing me of an association with the "old nomenclature". I found it ultimately unacceptable in principle. Deplorably, amongst that choir, I could clearly distinguish the voices of the people from the President's immediate surrounding. You would appreciate, I felt as though my hands were tied up. It prevented me from working, and I couldn't do what I had to.

[Grishchenko] What was it you couldn't you do in particular?

[Petrov] For instance, I didn't have the powers to select or appoint the people who, in my opinion, would be most instrumental. I have never changed my approach to the people I work with: I have always judged them by their professionalism, and their efficiency, rather than their personal records, nationality, or religion.

Second, I had a feeling that the noise surrounding my name created problems for the President as well. Many people were well aware of our good relations which we had long established during our work together. Therefore, I felt it my duty, in anticipation of a very complicated congress, to "untie" the hands to the Head of State.

[Grishchenko] Does it mean, you have not been working for almost three weeks?

[Petrov] Not really. I continued working at home. I did not want to take phone calls or answer questions. There were lots of them. I just took along my papers, diagrams, estimates, etc. in order that I could complete the work I had planned.

Following the end of the Congress, the President called me in, and said he needed me here. He also told me that I couldn't leave office at the time as complicated as this, that I enjoyed his full confidence and support, and that he would continue to support me in the future. He said his position consisted in consolidating society. Thus the problem of my resignation was resolved.

Thereafter, we addressed the issues which had to do with my further activities, taking into consideration the results of the Congress. It was from those positions that we discussed the ways of increasing the efficiency of the Administration. I expressed a conviction, and the President acquiesced in it, that the role and significance of the Administration had to be promoted.

[Grishchenko] What, particularly, needs to be accomplished to attain this?

[Petrov] I have given much thought to the structural changes of the office under my control. I believe that it should integrate several new elements in the near future.

[Grishchenko] Which elements?

[Petrov] The internal and external policy control agencies, and the state security agency. I will also do everything possible to complete the reform of the Analytical Center. We have always needed an independent, objective and highly professional source of information. We are selecting very efficient specialists for this Center. Some of them will work as permanent employees, others on the contractual basis, conducting specific studies and research.

[Grishchenko] Does this imply that the Administration is changing the original priorities?

[Petrov] To a certain extent, it is true. At the initial stage, we were mostly involved with economics. Our present-day priority, however, becomes the presidential policy. The Administration should be capable of efficiently shaping the Presidential political line. The President's Counsellor Office also needs a change. The President does need counsellors. Their activities, however, ought to be reconsidered. I have some ideas in that regard.

[Grishchenko] The innovations you are planning require highly-qualified personnel. This would entail great expenses....

[Petrov] State policy cannot be formed on the residual principle. You will agree, that society has to pay the price a million times higher for an error made by the supreme echelon of state power. We cannot be closefisted here. I have always counted on experts, specialists, and professional. The role of the Expert Council with the Government will have to increase too. I am confident that we should form the Administration which would be capable of meeting the specific requirements of today.

Russia's present-day Administration has little in common with its predecessor, not even with the structures which existed up to last August. The Soviet Union's control organs were run by a long-established administration. (It had been so long-established that it became stagnant. Isn't it where the notion "stagnation" roots from?) Incidentally, those old control structures had a number of highly qualified specialists which we are badly in need of now, conceding that up to the recent months Russia hadn't had an efficient state administration.

Presently, we literally have to work out a new external political line for the Russian democratic state. The country also has to adopt a new internal policy and address many social issues. All this requires colossal efforts, new ties with society.

[Grishchenko] Given this complicated situation, what are the priorities of reorganization of the agencies under your control?

[Petrov] I will have to reiterate that it's people. Their measuring stick today being their dedication to Motherland, to the course pursued by the President and the Government, and, naturally, their professionalism. Should we manage to select such people, organize them into a team, and direct them at the fulfillment of the principal objectives, the success of the reforms, hence the revival of Russia, will be secured. Should we fail to attain these goals. the country would be doomed to miserable existence, and the people, to the deprivations which could be evaded.

This is why whenever I hear popular speculations about the Administration reductions, I feel that they are circulated by the people who have but a vague idea about the problems these offices will have to resolve. On the other hand, we will never allow the administration structures to expand spontaneously. We should create a structure which would enable the President, given his enormous responsibilities, to have the maximum amount of objective information which is indispensable for making correct decisions....

[Grishchenko] I hear, your conversation with Boris Yeltsin lasted for three hours?

[Petrov] I was not abusing the President's time. As a rule, he devotes an hour a week to the affairs of the Administration. We hadn't met for three weeks, and we had many things to discuss. Time demands that Russia's supreme power structures should take optimally balanced and resolute steps.

Reasons for Decision 'Disappeared'

PM2704160992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu. Petrov, head of Russian president's administration, by Vasiliy Kononenko; place and date not given: "Head of President's Administration Returns to Kremlin"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On the first day of the Sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies IZVESTIYA announced that Yu. Petrov, head of the president's administration, had submitted his resignation. We would remind you that pressure from extreme left-wing forces demanding that representatives of the former nomenklatura be removed from high office and pressure from the government were among the main reasons impelling him to take this step. Now Yu. Petrov has returned to his duties. IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked him to explain.

[Petrov] The main reasons behind my decision to resign have virtually disappeared in the ensuing period. Certain circles did not continue their attacks on me at the Congress. As soon as it ended the president invited me along for a conversation lasting roughly three hours. The main thing that I learned from this was that the president's attitude toward me has not changed. He stressed that all my previous work in this post is in line with the reforms being implemented and is essential for the

full-fledged activity of presidential echelons. Individual shortcomings in this complex business are natural, explicable, and rectifiable. The president told me to carry on working in this post.

[Kononenko] Yuriy Vladimirovich, how do you see the presidential administration's future work given that the government has its own similar apparatus?

[Petrov] Documents are now being drafted regarding the reorganization of both the presidential administration and the government apparatus. As you know, this was mentioned at the Congress and the president also spoke about it. It is not of course a question of radically demolishing the structures that have been set up. They were not after all set up unthinkingly and have been tested by practice. The fact that some duplicate or simply surplus management echelons have emerged is another matter. It is primarily these that will come within the purview of the reorganization commission now being set up.

As for the role and place of the administration, the president has stressed that he attaches great significance to it not only as an organizational-economic, but also as a political institution. It is no secret that the adoption of optimum decisions depends in many respects on how well informed the president is and on how comprehensively he is versed in major problems. The president now has roughly 8-10 sources of information. This flow of information must be analyzed and alternative concepts studied. This mechanism has so far not been adequately worked out. But there are groups of experts and analysts within the administration (and also in the government) engaged in this work, and this area must be developed.

I consider it necessary to create a domestic policy administration capable of providing timely assessments and forecasts regarding the political situation in society.

By and large the reorganization of management structures requires in-depth analysis. Haste must not be permitted here so that useful and necessary elements are destroyed in the rush to make an illusory saving. Relations between the president's administration and the government apparatus will be based on the principles of division of duties and cooperation. The president's administration will be general [obshchiy], but the government apparatus will have the requisite isolation. I hope that the president will adopt a decision in the near future regarding the fate of existing management echelons.

Gorbachev Denies Intent of Returning to Power

LD2604203392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 92

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[Text] On the eve of the anniversary of Chernobyl last week, Gorbachev—no longer a party general secretary or a president—returned from a visit to Japan. The visit itself did not attract as much attention as a report from Tokyo that at a news conference there Gorbachev allegedly stated his intention to return to power, like De Gaulle did in France, which was immediately picked up by the media agencies. And although very soon it became clear that the ex- president had not said or, at any rate, did not mean anything like this, out correspondent nevertheless decided to ask Gorbachev on his arrival home a question to clarify the matter.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the seven years during which you had political power were so difficult for the country and probably, not least, difficult for yourself too. Purely on an emotional level, as a man, would you like to return to power?

[Gorbachev] You know, at the moment I do not have such plans. What I am doing now in my personal capacity, what I intend to do within the framework of the [Gorbachev] Foundation, fulfills my plans at the moment. And perhaps the experience which ... [sentence unfinished as heard] I should add that at the moment I intend, I am working on a book. Because here one would also like to reevaluate what we went through, what course we have chosen, our rights and wrongs—all this is needed, I believe.

Moreover, I saw what passions were raging at the Congress during all those days. And we maintained permanent contacts with Moscow during all this time.

But, incidentally, what I said to the Japanese when they told me: we are watching your country from here and shiver—what is going on? I said: You know, this is to find out what our next steps should be. Everything has to be agreed upon, there is no way out. They should agree and continue with the reforms. And later I was proved right, generally. [end recording]

Gorbachev Speaks Out Against 'Burbulisation'

OW2404160792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1549 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev warned that people cannot be treated as if they were a flock of sheep. Speaking at a news conference on Friday [24 April], he said that although time demanded tough measures, such measures could not be taken thoughtlessly. Previously, the nation was driven into collectivization and industrialization. Now it is being driven into "Burbulisation", again for the sake of their happiness, said Gorbachev. The time of resolute politicians has come, he said. "I'm afraid of resolute people, however, for they can spoil everything that has been achieved over the past seven years," he said explaining why he was not resolute enough in his time as president. He also said that one should be guided by the actual economic, political and social situation.

Speaking about the congress of people's deputies, Mikhail Gorbachev backed Boris Yeltsin's belief that the main result of the congress was that the policy of reforms was safeguarded. He also welcomed the fact that the Russian president addressed the congress with a "conciliatory speech". If he did away with the congress, as he was recommended to do, a tragedy would occur, he said.

Asked about the search for the Communist Party's treasury, he said that someone was deliberately exaggerating this question. "Why do they forget," he said, "that I contributed to the termination of the adventurous war in Afghanistan and of the "cold war," and to arms reductions?" Only the right-wing reactionaries are talking about this, he said. But then, they view us, the initiators of perestroika, as a clique which has sold itself to the imperialists. The democrats and the democratic press have passed these vitally important things over in silence. Unfortunately, the whole of the press has fallen to its knees, he said.

Shokhin Outlines Plans for Credit Emission

OW2704140892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1336 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of the Russian Federation is planning an additional credit emission worth some 200 billion roubles, the Russian Federation's Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin informed IF [INTERFAX]. As a result, prices will rise again by 30-40 percent in May and June.

Additional emission is a very dangerous step, said Aleksandr Shokhin. But now the government has to choose between high rates of inflation and deep economic recession, bankruptcy and a wave of unemployment. "We must neither fall into hyperinflation nor let the leading industrial branches and enterprises collapse," he said.

At the same time, he expressed confidence that by the end of the year the government will manage to attain the planned inflation level of 3-4 percent a month.

The government's other important step will be considerable softening of the taxing policy. Soon taxes will be lifted from the part of industrial enterprises' incomes which is invested in the priority industrial branches.

Presidential Decree on Agrarian Reform Viewed

PM2704132192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Konovalov: "One More Package of Agrarian Documents Being Prepared"]

[Text] It is becoming clear what Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy had in mind when he said that he would not renounce his agrarian program. He is obviously counting on a series of government resolutions and presidential decrees on key questions of this program. The fact that one more package of agrarian decisions—to suit the vice president's program—really is being prepared can be judged from a document which the editorial office has managed to obtain.

It is a draft presidential decree, which at present lacks just the chief thing—B. Yeltsin's signature. It is a small yet impressive document. Any firm of ours could have the sweetest dreams of the advantages, rights, and opportunities envisaged in it. In order to realize the "Field-Store" program of the Russian Agricultural Processing Corporation [RAPC], the government is obliged to provide guarantees for the payment of its credits, and the Central Bank is to allocate targeted credits within a month on terms of their preferential repayment. The corporation must be granted the right to license and set quotas for output imported and exported by it during 1992-1995. During the same period the RAPC is freed from selling currency proceeds to the republic currency reserve. Provision is also made for preferential taxation of the corporation's income and—something that says a lot—for the RAPC to sell military hardware and arms abroad up to a value of 5 billion rubles annually.

The firm of RAPC has existed as an open-type joint-stock company since last fall. Its founders are the "Karimos" concern (producers of equipment for the dairy industry), the "Akonkhol" concern (producer of refrigeration machinery and units for the food industry), and the Russian-American University. The corporation is supported by a number of other concerns, including defense ones.

The "Field-Store" project has been drawn up in the spirit of the vice president's agrarian program. It is a question of comprehensive, large-scale backup for a system of private farms and the corresponding infrastructure. The detailed expenditure calculations appended to the draft decree amount to hundreds of billions of rubles and hundreds of millions of dollars. The sources are quite realistic and substantiated, the most important one being conversion, and there is also reliance on foreign investments.

Serious doubts, however, are aroused by one of the program's conceptual foundations on which the draft decree was prepared. Here the peasant himself, the private farmer, essentially acts as a passive object of outlay, investments, and development. There have been quite a few examples of such an approach, when either the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Agriculture, the party, the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, or other "benefactors" bombarded the countryside with large-scale programs for development, patronage, etc., leaving the peasant only with the right to use what was ready-made, as it were. But, alas, the millions and billions invested in realizing the programs did not produce any visible return.

Now, of course, the times are no longer the same, nor are the participants. But the modest role of "recipient of what is ready-made," which even this program allocates to the private farmer and his organizations, is disconcerting. The role of client or partner would probably be far more effective both for him and for the cause. If the huge sums which, with state support, the RAPC will invest in the program were "passed" through the countryside, by way of providing private farmers themselves with credit for orders, this would include him in the program as a partner enjoying full rights. Then the private farmer would order what he can afford and would plan his development in a sequence which would enable him to begin commodity production as soon as possible.

This problem, which is fundamental to the private farm movement, has already emerged in local variants. The situation is all the more serious when it is a question of a large-scale program. Both extensive information and critical analysis already at the stage of draft documents are appropriate and necessary here.

Government Plan for Economic 'Coup' Seen

PM2804085592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 2

[Eduard Volodin "Observer's Notes": "Curious Coincidence"]

[Text] A "firecracker," which the government's pyrotechnists passed off as a hydrogen bomb, exploded at the Congress 13 April. Imagine, the government resigns, the reforms are at an end, no bright tomorrow is foreseen, the people are doomed, who accedes to power it is terrible to say...The servile press and television have multiplied and amplified the wailing of Gaydar's outraged soul, and radio voices have imparted to this wailing the intonation of a Jericho trumpet so as to destroy the vestiges of common sense in the brains of Russians and other citizens of I know not which commonwealth—brains washed by "democratic" swill.

It would be possible to understand Gaydar's hysterics as the derangement of someone from whose hands power and the corresponding honors and privileges are slipping. But when there is so much passion, so much anger and fuss—Russian, CIS, universal—you have to assume that there is something more serious and important behind all this. The way I see it, the matter boils down to the following.

The antipeople government undoubtedly has a program for a political and economic coup in which the extortionate price liberalization, which is still continuing and is not complete (still to come is the introduction of free prices for energy sources), is to be followed by wholesale privatization, which will hand over the **entire** industrial and economic system to the **criminal** bourgeoisie and to **extranational** capital. The three months allocated by the Congress to the present team to create a new government are certainly not sufficient to implement what has been prescribed and to completely destroy Russia. Therefore they go off into hysterics whose only purpose is to confuse and intimidate the Congress and to obtain from it powers to continue their (the government's) activity through the fall, when the new bosses and the new order will no longer fear any congresses or councils.

The fall is also advantageous because in the new political conditions this government will calmly leave the political arena for "boards of directors" or "reconstruction and development funds," bearing no responsibility for the approaching mass famine that has been prepared by the failed spring sowing campaign, just as Silayev's government evaded responsibility.

The present government is brandishing the bugaboo of a mythical $24 billion in front of deputies and the people. For this sum the United States is buying the destruction of the country and the genocide of our people. This bugaboo has an explanation in connection with the joke threat of the government's resignation. In actual fact, Bush only has the mere **intention** of providing some CIS states with aid to the tune of $24 billion. But, first, part of this money has already been given; second, a large proportion of it is credits at stupendous rates of interest; third, only some tiny amount will reach Russia. Nevertheless, they shout about the $24 billion, intimidate us by saying we will not get it, and deceive us by claiming that it will be possible to save Russia with this money.

That is not all. Of course, Bush has given a promise but, in connection with the upcoming elections, he will not lift a finger to fulfill his promise, particularly as in the election marathon Congress, the Senate, and the electorate are brakes which will prevent him from making broad gestures that do not produce revenue for the Americans themselves. Bush will gain freedom of action in the fall, which almost coincides with the end of the political and economic coup in Russia. Hence the incantations about a fall deadline for the powers of the Yeltsin-Gaydar government and the inventions about the "fateful" nature for the country and the whole world of a financial nothing to the tune of a mythical $24 billion.

A curious coincidence. It turns out that the issuing of "greenbacks" really is payment for the state's destruction and accurately or almost accurately indicates the time when it will be possible to knock confidently on the cash desk window for the fee.

What is most sickening is the fact that nobody conceals this link anymore. Shame, self-respect, and national dignity have been trampled on to such an extent that they are prepared to use these billions to check on the implementation of domestic policy, on its conformity with the U.S. election campaign and with the plans of U.S. politicians to "develop" Russia....

Gaydar's "firecracker" worked. The Congress adopted a declaration in which it shared responsibility for implementing the reforms with the government. Bound by a

single chain, deputies will now be responsible for everything that this known government of I know not which reforms does to the country and the people.

The government's hands have been untied, and it will not be slow to show in all its glory its determination to finally dispossess the people and totally ruin the power while hiding behind that same declaration, which it extracted from the limp or not yet strengthened hands (the next few months will show which is more true) of the people's elected representatives. Well, the people will have to go through new trials, privations, and losses in order to understand clearly and unequivocally that only they themselves can defend their right to life, because the right to work, health care, education, and culture has already been stolen from them.

On the other hand, what an excellent and inexhaustible manpower market, what mighty intellectual potential, and what incalculable raw material wealth our "potential allies" will obtain—the United States, West Europe, multinational corporations. How freely it will be possible to make use of all this over the immense expanses of a country without a name, a Commonwealth without friendship, and a state without its own policy, ideology, or historical perspective.

Gentlemen, citizens, comrade deputies. At the First Congress you stood to hail the Declaration of Russia's Sovereignty. I congratulate you, for it is functioning and being implemented. Only with an American accent.

Industrialists Appeal for Economic Revival

PM2704120192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Apr 92 p 1

[Letter from various industrialists: "Industrialists' Position: Preserve the Potential for Revival"]

[Text] Esteemed leaders of industrial enterprises!

The situation compels us to appeal to you.

The government's policy of "financial stabilization" and "strengthening of the ruble" is bringing about the closure of many production units and the further severing of economic ties. The government's credit policy provides no incentives for the creation of new production units or the expansion of existing units.

It is only a matter of time before many enterprises are wound up. Many millions of working people are faced with a real threat of unemployment in the very near future.

Leaders of industrial enterprises bear particular responsibility in this situation when the government is in practice merely promoting the collapse of the national industry.

Amalgamating enterprises into regional unions of industrial enterprises following the experience of Irkutsk Oblast provides a real opportunity to actively influence the shaping of economic policy.

In close contact with deputies from local soviets united in the "Industrial Union" factions, the unions can promptly influence the course of economic transformations.

At federal level it is becoming possible via the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "Industrial Union" faction to inform the government of industrialists' collective opinion, formulated with consideration for common interests and regional features, so as to make the requisite amendments to government decisions that are being formulated or that have already been adopted.

Irkutsk Oblast's union of industrial enterprises and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "Industrial Union" deputies' faction appeal to leaders of industrial enterprises and to people's deputies from all regions of the Russian Federation to urgently organize similar public structures and to pool their efforts with a view to averting definitive economic collapse. Time brooks no delay. We are responsible for preserving the country's national potential for economic revival. Loss of this potential undoubtedly means loss of the state's economic and political independence.

[Signed] A.I. Yeremin, chairman of the Industry and Power Engineering Committee; V.M. Barabash, president of the Irkutsk Oblast Union of Industrial Enterprises and general director of the "Vostok" Production Association; Yu.G. Gekht, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet "Industrial Union" deputies' faction; and G.I. Dmitriyev, chairman of the Irkutsk Oblast Soviet Commission for Industry and the Production Infrastructure.

Telephone numbers to contact: 205-40-04 and 205-84-60.

'Spring Actions' for Energy Complex Suggested

PM2704135392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 2

[Nikolay Krivomazov report under the rubric: "How To Counter Rising Costs of Energy Sources?": "'Spring Actions'"]

[Text] It is said that this modest young man is a voracious reader of fiction, as well as of specialist literature. Is this not why some of his ideas seem fantastic, to put it mildly? At the same time his last venture, undertaken to counteract the new spiral of rising prices for energy sources, is so serious that utterly prosaic tasks can be seen behind the poetic title "Spring Actions."

This is what M. Khodorkovskiy, chairman of the "Menatep" MFO [expansion unknown] Council of Directors, has to say:

"We have proposed boosting the fuel and energy complex at public expense. In other words, we have extrapolated the thesis 'Land to the Peasants' and devised the dictum: 'Oil to the People.' As early as this year the first billions of rubles of our investors' money will be invested in defense industry enterprises, which are virtually on the point of collapse a result of the misunderstood conversion program. Now they will switch to the production of equipment for the oil industry. Plus the construction of housing for oil workers in the Moscow region, the flotation of shares in oil deposits—the list will of course be extended as a result of the 'Spring Action.' Then, obviously, we will announce 'Fall Actions' of some kind; we hope to raise about 50 billion rubles.

"There is also something else, equally important, but conceived with a view to the third millenium. Foreigners are ready to rush to finance our raw material oases, which automatically turns us into the planet's service personnel. Our own people's money will be the only reliable and sure barrier in the path of today's 'colonists.' And then we will finally realize that we should not be destitute in the midst of our riches, that it is necessary to act.

"Otherwise today we will hand over, swearing and cursing, five or six rubles for a liter of gasoline, and tomorrow they will take the shirts off our backs. And we, through inertia, will thank our plunderers...."

Bank Chairman on Currency, Ruble's Role

PM2704121592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with G. Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Bank, by I. Zhagel; place and date not given: "The 5,000-Ruble Notes Will Be Russian"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The money supply situation throughout the entire ruble area is still one of the most acute problems we face today. We asked G. Matyukhin, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Bank, to talk about the way it might develop.

[Zhagel] Georgiy Gavrilovich, ordinary readers of our newspaper are primarily interested in knowing when the delays in the payment of their salaries, pensions, and grants will end.

[Matyukhin] I cannot say anything hopeful as yet. The cash shortage is increasing all the time. Whereas it was 19 billion rubles [R] as at 1 February, it was R20 billion as at 1 March, and almost R40 billion as at 1 April. In order to noticeably improve the situation it would be necessary to print R80 billion this month, but—given the capacity of the Main Administration for Production of State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals factories—no more than R60 billion will realistically be printed.

Unfortunately, not everything depends on us. More and more centralized decisions are being made to increase wages and pensions, and nobody coordinates these actions with us. Understandably, we are not opposed to implementing social protection measures, but if there is no opportunity to issue the money the situation can only deteriorate.

[Zhagel] Nonetheless, what measures are you taking for your part?

[Matyukhin] We are currently moving ahead strongly with the introduction of various kinds of credit transaction. But this will be a long-term job. So we are pinning our greatest hopes on printing larger-denomination banknotes. Some time ago I signed an ordinance authorizing preparation of R5,000 notes. These will enter circulation some time in early June. Although this could lead to another problem—a shortage of small-denomination notes. After all, you cannot take a R5,000 note to a dairy or a vegetable store. We see the solution as being to issue R3, R5, R10, and even R50 coins. Unlike paper money, these do not wear out, and we will need fewer of them.

[Zhagel] What will be depicted on this money?

[Matyukhin] The coins will feature the double-headed eagle. As for the R5,000 note, it will no longer depict Lenin. Both sides will carry various views of the Kremlin. Incidentally, unlike the previous paper money issued by the USSR Gosbank [State Bank], the new note will bear the legend "Central Bank of Russia note."

[Zhagel] Does this mean that Russia is nonetheless moving toward its own currency?

[Matyukhin] I would not say that. Although, of course, the appearance of new banknotes will create an opportunity to move rapidly toward our own currency if the other independent states wish to continue their policy of isolation. But, given appropriate agreements, the ruble could remain a single monetary unit.

[Zhagel] Nonetheless, there is a political aspect to this as well. The appearance of a Russian ruble could whip up nationalistic sentiments and accelerate the collapse of the former Union's monetary system.

[Matyukhin] We are proceeding on the basis that someone specific should be responsible for issuing any currency. The Soviet Union is no more, and unified banking structures no longer exist either. Therefore, Russia is bound to take responsibility for the ruble and monitor its health.

[Zhagel] Perhaps it would now be worthwhile returning once again to the idea of an interstate bank which would regulate all credit and monetary policy throughout the ruble area?

[Matyukhin] I am sure that the independent states will revert to this idea. And I would like to remind you that it was Russia which initiated the idea of an interstate bank, but it was not supported. Obviously, the logic of development is that it is too soon to talk about common

structures until the former republics hit trouble [nabyut sebe shishek] with their own currency.

[Zhagel] Incidentally, it was recently announced that Ukraine would move quickly toward its own currency. But this should be preceded by complex talks—particularly on state domestic debt. Are such talks being held?

[Matyukhin] We recently had a visit from representatives of the Central Bank of Ukraine. But it would be quite wrong to say that we made much progress in our talks. And the main question remained unresolved—how to implement mutual accounting between our states and enterprises. We will not accept the karbovanets or the grivna, just as we do not currently accept the Polish zloty or the Czechoslovak koruna. This is not discrimination but a desire to follow economic laws.

[Zhagel] It is said that we might switch to clearing trade.

[Matyukhin] But this would bind our economies together even more. After all, if Russia supplies some goods to Ukraine, then Ukraine would have to supply a corresponding volume of its products to Russia. Whereas, if we had a single currency, Ukrainian enterprises earning rubles could buy things in Moldova, Kazakhstan, and Georgia as well.

I have not the slightest doubt that if Ukraine does introduce its own currency it will be strictly linked to the ruble because of our economies' strict interdependence. Admittedly, it is possible to imagine—hypothetically—that Ukraine might gear itself to another market. But, according to world experts, this would have taken nine years in the sixties, 12 years in the seventies, and would now take no less than 16 years.

Investment Exchange Leader Views State Funds

LD2604091392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1426 GMT 23 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr—To date, more than 2,000 concerns established with aid from the state remain without investment due to the fact that the government lacks the funds for their completion. There is every basis in this for saying that the investment market in Russia is paralyzed and needs to be reformed from scratch. This was stated by Aleksandr Pogorelskiy, president of the Russian investment exchange (Rosinbi) at a news conference which took place today. The leader of Rosinbi expressed the view that after the destruction of the centralized system for managing investments in place of which nothing new was created, the state budget lost its investment role. In the conditions now emerging, commercial structures need to assume responsibility for establishing an investment market in the country and for providing the finance for major projects, however, the relevant support from the state is needed.

Military Industry Conversion Options Viewed

PM2704140592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Aleksey Yablokov, Russian Federation state counselor for policy in the ecology and health protection sphere: "Will the Defense Industry Be Able to Feed Us"]

[Text] The militarization of the economy is one of the main reasons for our disastrous economic situation. As a result of the constant "protection of the gains of socialism" we created a society in which about 80 percent of industry was associated with military production. One-half of enterprises in Moscow and around three-fourths in St. Petersburg are military enterprises. Dozens of large cities and many territories are given over mainly to the military industry.

According to various estimates, between 7.3 and 16.4 million people are employed in military-industrial complex industry. If you count their families, one-third of the country's population is closely associated with the military-industrial complex. It is even greater if you take the armed forces into account.

In 1990 it was officially admitted that military expenditures here had reached the level of at least 25 percent of the state budget. In fact, it was obviously much greater: The military ruble was provided with material and technical resources down to the last kopek, whereas the ruble in our pocket was provided to the tune of barely 50 percent. In fact, in many civilian spheres, in basic research, for example, more than one-half of all expenditure was directly or indirectly associated with defense. Seventy-two kopeks of each ruble spent on space (and around 10 billion rubles [R] were spent annually) went on military programs.

The entire structure of our society was distorted accordingly. This is graphically demonstrated by a comparison of the distribution of labor resources in the various spheres of the CIS national economy with the United States (figures for 1990 in percentages):

	CIS	United States
Industry, construction, transport	51	31.8
Agriculture	24.1	2.9
Services sphere (trade and so on)	13.1	41.8
Armed forces	around 5	1.6

It turns out that U.S. society is geared to serving people, whereas the society we created is geared to serving the state military machine. Our military-industrial society was constructed by ruthlessly plundering the country's resources—mineral, timber, fish, and, of course, human—the slave labor of tens of millions of citizens in the GULAG was the foundation of the defense industry. Our militarized economy is still making the national economy consume much more coal, oil, metal, and

energy than the country's development actually requires. That is why we are known throughout the world for our consumption of materials and energy per unit of output.

They say that labor productivity at defense plants will decline with the transition to civilian production. But it would mean a massive saving of resources which it is unproductive to spend on armaments—probably more than 40 percent of electricity and textiles and at least one-half of the engine fuel and lubricants, metal, and so on. Here is one example. In March 1992 we experienced the shock of the possible consequences of another accident at one of our obsolete nuclear power stations, this time the Leningrad station. If weapons production were cut, it would be possible simply to close all these "nuclear bombs that are temporarily producing electricity" (that was the definition of our nuclear power stations by an international commission), since they supply only 12.5 percent of the electricity—several times less than is consumed by the military-industrial complex. But the question how best to carry out the conversion of the defense industry is giving rise to serious disagreements.

The first viewpoint is gradual conversion. Leave around 30 percent of military production, which will provide for defense needs. Spend between R150 billion and R1.5 trillion over several years on the gradual restructuring of the remaining defense industry. In this case the first results of conversion in the national economy would be obtained in two-three years, and a marked effect in five-six years' time.

The second viewpoint is the expansion of the arms trade. Export military-industrial complex products on a wider scale than before, including items that were formerly top-secret. Dump 40 percent of the military-industrial complex' products on the world market. For your information, hitherto we have sold around one-fourth of the production of the military-industrial complex and the USSR's share of the world arms trade in 1984-1988 was around 35 percent; in 1990 the USSR supplied other countries with weapons worth $14 billion, but only $4 billion were actually obtained. It is claimed that earnings from the expanded sale of weapons could not only maintain the existing military industrial complex, but also "feed and water Russia," and even provide funds for the transformation of other sectors of the economy. International restrictions on the sale of weapons would be an obstacle and would have to be avoided somehow, by selling weapons at giveaway prices, several times lower than the market price.

The third viewpoint is wholesale conversion. As long as military-industrial complex enterprises are getting military orders they will not want to convert. Defense orders must be reduced several times over and enterprises must be given the freedom to pay even for 12-18 months just the wages of the workers who have been made available—they will decide what to produce for the civilian sphere and how to do it. The high technological standard of the defense enterprises will provide for the creation of competitive goods and the opportunity to offer them on the world market.

The fourth viewpoint is direct use of military equipment and technology for peaceful purposes. Certainly there are definite opportunities here, but they are not as great as it appears at first glance. It is doubtful whether farmers would be delighted to have military tractors or heavy trucks, which require much more fuel than civilian equivalents. It is doubtful whether any territories would agree to mass "peaceful" launches of military rockets, if, after each launch, there is the danger of contamination of the environment by toxic rocket fuel products. I would point out that the United States too once planned to turn defense programs into a massive source of ideas, materials, and products for the civilian economy. These hopes did not bear fruit: Apparently, military developments tend to be fueled by ideas generated in the civilian sphere, rather than the other way round.

Most desirable of all, I think, is wholesale conversion (viewpoint number three). But since supporters of the second viewpoint (expansion of the arms trade), have been more in evidence of late, I believe it is necessary to provide a concise account of the arguments against that "conversion" option.

One may go along with the idea of selling existing armaments off cheap: Anyway, it has already been done. Production of new weapons for expanded sale is another matter. You have to weigh up everything not only from the standpoint of the military plant, which is not getting its normal military orders. From the standpoint of the interests of the whole of society, military production, by absorbing enormous financial resources, is draining the economy and making rapid movement toward the market an impossibility. The continued production of established volumes of weapons is the main cause of the depletion of the country's natural resources and the increasing pollution of the environment. The large-scale trade in weapons weakens the incentive to convert production and merely prolongs the death throes of the militarized economy.

Unless the arms trade is accompanied by strict obligations that effectively confine their use to the protection of the legitimate rights of citizens, nations, and states, then this trade is immoral. But these restrictions can only be effected given most rigorous state regulation of this process. Free access to the world arms market, which, in fact, is the basis of the proposal to expand the arms trade, is bound to entail the probability of our own weapons' being used against the Russian population. Finally, for purely terminological and common sense reasons, production and sale of weapons cannot be described as conversion of the defense industry—it is anticonversion!

Unless we succeed in rapidly demilitarizing the economy and converting our defense industry, economic reform in the country will fail: Our military burden is too heavy.

That is why the plans of those who, on the pretext of saving Russia, want to see the defense industry continue unchanged, are so dangerous.

Military Doctrine Tenets, Methodology Eyed

PM2804090192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Colonel General V. Miruk, candidate of military sciences and member of the State Commission for the Creation of the Russian Federation's Defense Ministry, Army, and Navy: "Russia's Military Doctrine: What Should It Be Like?"—first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The end of the "cold war" presented the world community with a number of complex questions. What should mutual relations between countries be like? How will this affect the geopolitical disposition of forces? Is the danger of war totally ruled out? These questions cannot but confront the independent states which have emerged in place of the former Union and have already declared their intention to create their own armed forces. And this includes Russia, which has been forced to decide on this step.

What methodoligical approaches should be used when elaborating the military doctrine and building the armed forces of a sovereign state? V. Miruk, candidate of military sciences and member of the State Commission on the Creation of the Russian Federation's Defense Ministry, Army, and Navy, ponders this issue.

How often do we ponder the meaning of "national security"? The fact is that this is one of the most important conditions of any sovereign state's existence. In a number of countries, and even in the United States which is the example we most often use, the entire system of the functioning of state structures and institutions is geared to guaranteeing national security including in the sphere of politics, the economy, ecology, internal stability, and everyday life [zhiznedeyatelnost].

The political or, more precisely, the juridical foundation for guaranteeing national security is usually the military doctrine. It should define: The state's attitude to war as one of the means of resolving contradictions and defending vitally important interests; sources of potential danger; the essence, aims, nature, and methods of conducting armed struggle; the composition, quantity, and quality of the armed forces and the principles of building them; and much more. And insofar as the military doctrine is a mandatory document for the various state institutions (financial organs, industry, transport, communications, education system, health care, and so on), its basic clauses are approved, as a rule, by the supreme legislative organ. Moreover, the supreme political leadership is granted the right to hone and finalize it.

One of the most important specific features of adopting a military doctrine today resides in the fact that the traditional division of all countries into adversaries, allies, and neutral states has become problematic. Therefore, a modern doctrine cannot perceive any specific state or coalition of states as an adversary. In my view, this is where the main dialectical method for defining and selecting its conceptual clauses can be seen. However, the majority of current affairs writers proceed from a multitude of concepts when drafting the clauses of a military doctrine. Concepts like preventing war, terminating aggression, defense sufficiency, defense strategy, and others, and this complicates its perception.

When dialectically evaluating the internal and external factors and the conceptual clauses of a sovereign state's military doctrine, it is expedient to single out the two fundamental concepts which will define its military-political and military-technical aspects. Concepts like potential danger and potential threat.

It is known that potential danger, as a category, exists quite objectively. This is because:

—groupings of the state's armed forces, deployed in peacetime and enjoying high mobilization potential, remain a reality;

—there are territorial disputes between states which, coupled with national-ethnic, economic, religious, and ideological contradictions, could be sources of wars and regional conflicts;

—claims by individual states to a position of dominance on global or regional scales still remain;

—a change of leadership or internal political and economic crises could have a significant effect on an individual state's foreign policy.

Depending on the nature of the development and coincidence of these indicators, the degree of potential danger for a specific state in the current or foreseeable period of time can be defined. But it is the military doctrine which should define ways and measures of neutralizing sources of potential danger. Primarily by using political, diplomatic, and economic means. As for the armed forces, they should be perceived as the last resort in the entire system of measures for defending the state's sovereignty, to be used only when all others have been fully exhausted and the state is faced with the irreversible emergence of potential threat. In other words, the possibility of aggression, which would require the highest degree of readiness the state and its armed forces to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The two aforementioned concepts define the qualitative state of the armed forces in particular, and of the state as a whole. Naturally, the transition from one status to another requires time to prepare the armed forces, state structures, and the country's mobilization potential. That is, armed forces in peacetime have to be built and maintained on the basis of the concept of potential danger. The armed forces composition "under" the concept of potential threat will differ accordingly. So, in

simple terms, the concept of potential danger conditions the rational composition of a state's armed forces. And the concept of potential threat conditions a country's mobilization potential.

What else? The armed forces today must have an acceptable numerical strength of personnel with an acceptable level of expenditure to maintain and equip them, which sensibly accords with the country's economic possibilities. This problem is complex both theoretically and practically. Whereas previously, knowing the probable adversary's identity, military requirements for reliable resistance could be defined by a relatively simple analysis, the absence of such certainty in this sphere calls for new approaches. What are they?

The simplest version offers a method of comparative military-economic analysis of the state and the armed forces of other countries. The basic indicators here are:

—the size of the population and the numerical strength of the armed forces as a percentage ratio of it (in a number of states, this correlation ranges between 0.4 and 0.8 percent);

—GNP (or national income) and the proportion represented by the military budget (in developed countries this ranges between 2.5 and 5.5 percent);

—possibilities for switching the armed forces and the state from a peace-time status to mobilized readiness, in other words the swift attainment of the coefficient of mobilization intensity (on the basis of wartime experience, between 10 and 15 percent of the population would be inducted in the armed forces).

Apart from that, indicators such as the length of the state's borders, the area of its territory, its geostrategic position, the number of officers, generals, and so on, are all used for the purposes of defining the equivalence of states. As a result of such a comparison, it is possible to draw preliminary conclusions on the rational numerical strength of armed forces, proceeding from economic possibilities. Admittedly, these indicators do not reflect the armed forces' capability to repulse aggression, but merely signify the level of a given country's social development compared to other developed countries, and their influence on the ultimate nature and structure of the armed forces. The requisite (rational) levels for specific branches of the armed forces and armaments can be defined more rigidly using specialist methods.

One of the subsequent stages in formulating proposals on building the armed forces is the elaboration of basic principles for their training and use. In my view, these should include: Forms and methods of military actions, the organization of command and control and comprehensive supply, a system of combat training and demobilization, training of cadres and reserves, normative-legal acts...However, whatever rational methods and ways for building the armed forces may be used by the military-political leadership of a sovereign state, it is impossible to guarantee the required effectiveness if they are used autonomously, in isolation. In contemporary conditions—and it is important to take this into account—such a guarantee can be provided only by collective systems of political, economic, and military security. The uniqueness of the situation in which we all find ourselves resides precisely in the unified nature of intelligence systems, automated command and control, and the centralized warning system on the air and space situation for the Russian Federation president and the presidents of other independent states. Therefore, while recognizing each state's right to create its own armed forces, it is necessary to take due account of the actual possibilities for exercising this right. In other words, when dividing up the former unified armed forces, it is impossible to mechanically uproot a security system which took years to build.

And I believe there is one more highly significant aspect. In my view, all these processes must be, figuratively speaking, "covered" by the Air Defense Forces. Or the Air and Space Defense Forces, which they will be in the future. The elements of such a system exist in every state, and, as we know, they guarantee their air and space sovereignty [suverenitet v vozdushno-kosmicheskom prostranstve]. The elimination and breakdown of the unified multi-echeloned Air Defense Forces will require the creation of such a system in each state, which is neither economically nor technically feasible right now apart from in the Russian Federation, where economic potential and the presence of powerful science and production associations render it possible to create Air and Space Defense Forces on the basis of the Air Defense Forces. Moreover, with the subsequent formation of a unified system of CIS Air and Space Defense. Such a solution is prompted by the practice of all developed states, including the United States and Canada. But it requires a political decision—the signing of an agreement on a unified air and space defense system by the heads of state. The urgent need for this, as the saying goes, is staring us in the face—an air and space defense system, like border troops, functions even in peacetime, while all other structures are created for wartime.

To conclude, I want to stress that the prevailing favorable international situation means that there is no hurry for each Commonwealth state to dismantle existing defense systems when creating its own armed forces. Above all, perhaps, in air defense and air and space defense. It provides an opportunity for finding an option for guaranteeing collective security, which would go furthest in satisfying the demands and potential of the individual states and the Commonwealth as a whole.

Security Minister on Setting Up New Service

LD2704213392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Interview with Russian Minister of Security Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, with commentator Oleg Ivanov; in Barannikov's office in Moscow; date not given; from the "Face to Face with Russia" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ivanov] We are in the office of one of the least talkative ministers in the Russian Government—Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov, Russian minister of security. And the first interview he has given is this one to Russian Television.

[Barannikov] The Ministry has existed for just around three months. At the same time, I would like to note that it was formed more or less at a time of the paralysis of—I mean, at the time of the August events, on the basis of two security services, namely the Inter-Republican Security Service of the former union and the Russian federal security agency. The main thing underlying the formation of this new government body was the idea that the system of the Ministry should move from being the Party's armed detachment to being a constitutional body for the firm defense of Russians, first and foremost, of their rights and freedoms, of the security of the state, and of the territorial inviolability and integrity of our country.

Let me note that the necessary prerequisites for this are available—first and foremost, a staff possessing great potential. Our technical resources match the needs of the times. I believe that the start we have made in setting up the Ministry and the three months of organizational work that has been done show that we are on the right road, and there are already certain results from the staff's operational activities.

[Ivanov] Viktor Pavlovich, what are the Ministry's structure and tasks, and will you be up to them?

[Barannikov] Well, what can I say? In the first place, it needs to be said that the process of setting it up is proceeding—if one is to speak frankly—the process of setting it up is not proceeding very easily. In the first place, there has been too little time. The main reason, I believe, lies in the absence, first and foremost, of legal regulation of many matters relating to the activities of the security bodies. There are no laws yet on the security bodies themselves, on state commercial secrets, on the state border, or even on state service. There is no law on countering organized crime and corruption. And there are other laws which we do not yet have. And to some extent this is disconcerting for the staff. This is today a very serious—and I will say forthrightly that alongside this, in the first place, a large number of structural adjuncts have been abolished in the central apparatus.

It was very serious, painstaking work, and I would say that it resulted in a considerable reduction in the management apparatus.

[Ivanov] Ah yes, cadres.

[Barannikov] I can say that they were formed on a collegiate basis, with the participation of the collegium and the participation of representatives of parliament, publicly and openly. There was more than one candidate for each post. There was a selection process. Yes, that's it, a selection process.

[Ivanov] Professional selection?

[Barannikov] Professional and moral. And I would say it was a democratic process.

[Ivanov] Is it realistic to aim at being based on the utmost professionalism, moving away from politics?

[Barannikov] I think it is. Above all, we have rejected the concept of ideological subversion. That is what the activities of the fifth service [pyataya sluzhba] used to entail. That's the first thing. Second is the fact that two main tasks, let's say, have been set. These are the protection of state security and the protection of citizens, Russians. Those are the main directions.

[Ivanov] What qualities should an officer of the Ministry of Security possess? His image, in your opinion?

[Barannikov] Above all, he should be a professional who knows his job and knows his subject.

[Ivanov] And in our democratic and free times?

[Barannikov] And most importantly, he should like people. His attitude toward today's democratic processes in Russia will stem from this, and I think that someone like this, who has professional qualities and likes people, will never make mistakes.

[Ivanov] It seems that under the conditions of democracy we have already forgotten that there is a special service that is getting on with its intelligence work and that we are its potential enemies.

[Barannikov] That's not what I think, you know, and I'll explain my position. The world is changing and naturally previous opinions about an enemy have also changed, of course. However, the foreign special services are taking advantage of Russia's complex social and political conditions. Above all, they are giving a great deal of attention to the Russian leadership's strategic plans in foreign and domestic policy, to the state of defense capability, and the level to which nuclear potential is protected, to gathering information about inter-ethnic conflicts, migration processes, and the trends of their development and to non-traditional methods of acquiring sources of information.

[Ivanov] They are acquiring a new shape.

[Barannikov] Yes, and it needs to be pointed out that a real danger exists today, and our society should realize this clearly and should not distract itself with illusions and complacency. And it has to be said forthrightly and frankly that our special services today work, not against one country or another, rather, they work against specific special services that engage in illicit acts against Russia and the people of Russia. That is how each of our special services in the Ministry of Security sees our task today.

[Ivanov] Tell me, regarding the work of the secret services, many people in our country have criticized it,

most fundamental thing of all. And that is today the main direction of the activities of the Ministry of Security.

New Party Declared CPSU 'Successor'

PM2704122592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 92 p 2

[Report by Valentina Nikiforova: "Successor to CPSU?"]

[Text] Yet another party may proclaim its existence—it will be called the united Communist Party of the Russian Federation. But that will be after registration. Meanwhile the All-Union Communists' Committee is busy with organizational work—it has held a constituent-cum-restoration conference and plenum and is establishing contact with other Communist Parties in Russia and the former Union republics.

"Their leaders can join our committee as cochairmen," Committee Chairman S. Skvortsov explained. "The main thing now is to unite Communists."

The committee is focusing its attention only on rank-and-file Communists. According to S. Skvortsov, at least 200,000 of them will join the united CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation]. Reregistration should be completed by mid-May, and a month later the 29th congress will be held. The new party has declared itself to be the CPSU's successor.

Workers' Rights Congress Discusses Strategy

PM2704131392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 2

[Report by S. Karkhanin: "Workers' Congress in Pavel Vlasov's Homeland. Surely We Are the Bosses?"]

[Text] On the eve of the congress a strike of five bus depots shook Moscow: A crisis in the capital's passenger transport system forced the drivers to refuse to go out on their routes. The mere fact that, owing to a shortage of spare parts and a rise in the cost of gasoline, the cost of a passenger's journey from Teplyy Stan to Okhotnyy Ryad is now 35 rubles, but a ticket costs 50 kopeks, does not, of course, recoup any of the losses. Should the price be put up? But that would hit millions of people's pockets. That is why the transport workers intend to have an indefinite general strike from 28 April if the Moscow government does not meet them half-way.

In Leningrad Oblast's Boksitogorskiy Rayon a strike committee has also been formed; its chairman N. Panteleyev reported to the All-Russian Congress of Workers' Councils which took place in Nizhniy Novgorod 18-19 April: "We have only put forward economic demands for the moment, but everyone clearly understands that our economic difficulties are the result of the Russian government's antipopular policy." It has been announced that a strike is in the offing in Kaliningrad, Moscow Oblast. But the delegates from Chelyabinsk announced to the congress: "Uncoordinated strikes can do society no good," bearing in mind the necessity for an all-Russian political strike.

About 200 delegates from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Rostov-na-Donu, Vologda, Vladivostok, Astrakhan, Ivanov, and other cities discussed in Nizhniy Novgorod the program for the workers' struggle for their rights. Its main tack is to not limit itself to economic demands, to try to achieve a revival of Soviet power, and to get in the way of the predatory privatization program which is making the new nepmen [speculators during the period of the New Economic Policy in the 1920's] and mercenary political intriguers rich to the detriment of the workers' interests.

"We are not afraid of the bureaucrats and militia—they can be coerced or bought," one prominent member of the world of underground criminal finance once admitted. "We are only afraid of protests by the workers who cannot be bought or coerced." As was said at the congress, it is no coincidence that so much effort and resources have now been piled into splitting the workers' movement from within, into making it submissive and safe for those holding power. The Kuzbass miners, the delegates noted, have become a "battering ram" for the supporters of the government which is robbing the people, and the cooperatives created right in the shops of the Moscow "Serp i Molot" plant have allowed dissent to be sown among the ordinary plant workers over a difference in incomes. A Union of Labor Collectives has been organized by the efforts of the Russian president's counselors; its leaders have received salaries and offices deep inside the Russian Federation Supreme Economic Council, and it is not surprising that this union is actively pushing for privatization and other new developments which are leading to industry's collapse and the ordinary people's impoverishment.

"When they try to neutralize us, the opponents of the workers' councils are not strapped for cash," I. Lunochkin, a delegate at the congress and a milling-machine operator from the "Moslift" plant, stated. "We in turn realized that it is senseless to struggle only for our wages. Political changes are necessary. That is why we did not agree with the stance taken by the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, which is striving to steer us away from a political struggle. 'If the City Hall does not permit the 1 May demonstration in Red Square, you will have to give in,' the trade union leaders, who, incidentally, were leaving in black Volgas, said to us. But we intend to act in a decisive manner. In the final count, surely it is we, the working people, who are the bosses in the country!

It was noted at the congress that the workers' councils were prepared to cooperate with all political parties and movements which defend working peoples' interests. At the same time the slander about the congress allegedly being funded from the budget of the CPSU and the

Russian Communist Workers Party was refuted: All the delegates came at the expense of their plants or at their own expense.

What should the strategy of the workers' movement be? It was decided that it would attempt to secure elections to the soviets on the basis of the territorial production districts, so that really worthy people who are known to the voters become deputies. For the moment, though, city and rayon workers' councils—which are capable in principle of becoming a "parallel authority" with their workers' militia units which are being created to guard state property and maintain public order—will help the local organs. Extremism is, of course, a danger, and it is no accident that the representatives of the so-called "Workers Democracy" movement—a Trotskyite faction—were not admitted to the congress. Incidentally, the issue surrounding the fact that far from all ordinary workers will willingly march behind the red flag or the St. Andrew flag was discussed in a lively manner. There are many people who are disappointed; their ranks are being swelled by the confusion in people's minds, which is being deepened by the welter of organizations calling them to march under their banners.

At the time the congress was in session in Nizhniy Novgorod, a conference of a workers' sociopolitical organization uniting representatives from the Urals and Siberia met in Yekaterinburg. Both forums exchanged greetings but it remained unclear as to why two movements having essentially the same program could not unite. Such contacts are vitally important, for it is only in unity that ordinary people have the strength to struggle for their right for the life they deserve.

The congress decided to continue the preparations for an all-Russian political strike; its date is still to be fixed. The slogans for the strike are: a new economic policy, the abolition of free and commercial prices, a state monopoly on foreign trade, free education and health care, justice for those guilty of the country's collapse, and new elections to the soviets. A Russian executive committee for the workers' councils was elected, and D. Igoshin, a milling-machine operator from the Nizhniy Novgorod "Krasnoye Sormovo" plant, became its chairman. The next congress will take place in mid-October once again in Nizhniy Novgorod.

Nationwide Medical Workers Strike Continues

LD2704161392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Leonara Sutotskaya]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Local medics have gone on strike this morning. After fruitless talks between the Moscow government and members of the strike coordination committee, they decided to join the All-Russian Medical Workers' protest action now under way in the country.

The strikers demand the restoration of 100-per cent budget financing of medical institutions for the period of the economic reform. Most citizens are unable to pay for medical services. The medics also demand higher wages, which are the lowest in Moscow—on the average 774 roubles a month. The strike will be declared termless if the Moscow authorities fail to solve the problem urgently.

The all-Russian strike of medical workers began on April 20. It was triggered by an ungrounded reduction of budget allocations, huge difficulties with medicines, and low earnings. The action is being held within the frameworks of the springtime days of united action by Russian trade unions (April 20-May 3). Practically all the health workers of Udmurtiya joined the strike right away. A day later they were joined by medics from Altay territory, Orenburg and Magadan regions. The strike is spreading steadily. In many regions the medics support the strike, although they have not joined it officially so far.

The medical workers of Tambov region in Central Russia, for instance, today decided not to set up a public committee in support of the all-Russian strike so as not to worsen the lot of patients, which is deplorable as it is. All the clinics and medical institutions of the region are working as usual, but many work collectives have addressed solidarity telegrams to Moscow.

The authorities of Khabarovsk territory have partially satisfied the demands of medical workers. A conciliatory commission has decided to pay increments to them for work in harmful conditions (more than two million roubles are being allocated for this purpose from the local budget). The territorial administration has addressed a letter to President Yeltsin, saying that the main demands, advanced by medical workers, cannot be met on the spot.

Medics of Komsomolsk-on-Amur plan to picket the building of the city administration this week. Personnel of the district hospital in the Khor Workers' Estate plan to stop work on April 28th, ITAR-TASS was told at the territorial medical workers trade union committee.

Congress of People's Deputies

Deputies Cited on Yeltsin Speech, Reform Plans

MK2804080092 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 25 Apr 92 p 1

[Konstantin Katanyan feature incorporating remarks by People's Deputies Vladimir Lukin, Mikhail Astafyev, and Viktor Sheynis following Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies: "Step Toward Conciliation"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Russian president's final speech seemed to sum up the many days of debates at the Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies. Immediately after the congress ended, we asked deputies representing

various political forces to answer two questions. The first was: What is your assessment of the president's speech? And the second was: Do you think that the government can continue the course of reforms and at the same time take into account the criticism that was voiced at the congress?

Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the United States.

1. I liked Yeltsin's speech as a whole. I have a rather more optimistic view of the permanent constitutional process; there is nothing terrible in a stage-by-stage amendment of the present Constitution. It is now already far better than it was a few months ago. Basically the speech was good and conciliatory and the president spoke calmly and reasonably; as for differences of opinion? Surely you don't want a return to complete unanimity and profound moral satisfaction? Otherwise why did we start all these democratic transformations?

2. And what is the government to do with itself? It must find the right path, and the quicker it does so the easier it will be for it to correct its actions. By and large this government is prepared to carry out reforms, but of course it does not have enough experience yet, or a real knowledge of the situation in the country. You cannot create a market economy at a stroke; our country will have an enormous state sector for some time yet and we must make it work. Although there is no alternative to the overall line toward marketization and financial discipline.

Mikhail Astafyev, chairman of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, one of the leaders of the opposition.

1. The president's speech was full of conciliatory tones, and I welcome this. I think that recognition of the strength of both powers is exactly what we need for a stable country. In fact this speech expressed recognition of the opposition. Hitherto, contradicting Yeltsin had meant contradicting the people. The congress broke this stereotype and let everyone understand that you can criticize the authorities. Of course, one should not descend to the level of invective that could at times be heard over the microphones. I myself am partially to blame, although my speeches were mainly a reaction to the breaching of the standing orders. That does make you feel very worked up, I must admit. Insults are impermissible, but you have to speak firmly and honestly. In particular, we cannot agree with the legality of the formation of the CIS and we will defend our position.

2. I nevertheless think not: First of all, it is no secret that Yeltsin intends to transform it to a certain extent. Second, I will never agree that Kozyrev can pursue the right foreign policy. I have fewer complaints against Gaydar. But he is a technocrat. If there was a power above him that kept a leash on this economic course, the situation would be different. But he has been given too much freedom, and the policy of a deficit-free budget has failed. However, we have never rejected cooperation with the government.

Viktor Sheynis, deputy responsible secretary of the Constitutional Commission, "Left Center" faction.

1. Boris Nikolayevich's final speech was dynamic and couched in positive tones; it was both fairly aggressive and fairly conciliatory. It highlighted the main questions that must be resolved first and foremost. It made a far more favorable impression on me than the report that was imposed on Yeltsin in the first few days of the congress. Of course, this is a preliminary assessment, and deeper analysis following serious work on the text is needed.

2. Of course, the government is in a very difficult position. It is very easy to criticize it and very hard not to retreat from the reforms but at the same time ensure social protection. That is the main contradiction, the course toward the stabilization of the budget while searching for resources. But if resources are not found for social needs, the government will simply not be allowed to carry out the reforms. And I am talking not about the deputies' opposition—God knows when the next congress will meet—but the reaction of our fellow citizens who have found themselves below the poverty line all at once. Particularly inasmuch as they are constantly being incited to oppose the government.

Bocharov Finds Congress Results 'Depressing'

PM2704095592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 92 First Edition p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Depressing Results"]

[Text] Mikhail Bocharov has described as "extremely depressing" the results of the Sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies that has just ended. Speaking at the Congress press center yesterday, he said that the two-tiered legislative system comprising the Supreme Soviet and the Congress is "extremely ineffective."

Analyzing the country's economic situation, Mikhail Bocharov, who until last October was head of the Russian Supreme Economic Council, pointed to a number of mistakes that he thinks the government has made.

Mikhail Bocharov, who vied with Ivan Silayev for the post of head of the first independent Russian Government, proposes the organization of a land and housing market as one way of speeding up the escape from economic crisis. In his view, the sale of unfinished installations, real estate belonging to the CPSU and other public organizations, and army property could bring the state budget vast revenue.

Yeltsin Concluding Speech Assessed

PM2704150992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Apr 92 p 1

[Political Observer Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "Commentary": "President-Parliament: Cooperation and Responsibility"]

[Text] There is no waning in the attention paid the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. Newspapers close to the government mostly speak of the president's "victory" over the deputies and of the need to eliminate the congress as a political body.

I think that they are rejoicing not at a presidential "victory" over the body of deputies, rather they are undisguisedly regretting the failure to remove the head of legislative authority from the political arena with the help of the head of state. No one can be deceived by the claims that the desire to remove him was occasioned by the verbal clumsiness of the speaker of parliament during a foreign newspaper interview or his emotional outburst at the evening session of congress on Monday 13 April. These merely provided grounds for the attacks. Let us remember that these same newspapers allowed far more unparliamentary language vis-a-vis Boris Yelstin—first as candidate for the chairmanship and then as chairman of the Supreme Soviet—and the president was perhaps addressing those newspapers when he said in his concluding speech to the congress that he was alarmed that many of those who most loudly defend his course today "were until quite recently his fervent opponents."

The purpose of those who have assailed legislative authority today is to erect barriers in various places to the head of state and head of parliament and remove the latter from the political arena even at the cost of destroying legislative authority as such. Why? Is it not because the leaders of that branch of authority have actually, rather than merely verbally, started to assume one of the main functions of that authority—the function of monitoring—which, if such is eventually discharged, will prevent certain prominent representatives of executive authority from disposing of that authority and enjoying material benefits unchecked.

Taken as a whole, the congress was not intent on bringing down either the president or the government. However, it did show the government pretty convincingly that, for all the absolute correctness of the course of reforms, it, the government, must in the transformations proposed and implemented by it take account of the great unease felt by the broad masses of the population at the sharp deterioration in their material position.

That the Communists, having united with the "patriots," tried to play upon the latter is another matter. And here they joined with the radicals from the government in attempts to destroy the shaky balance between legislative and executive authority. Awesome danger resides here. Confrontation could lead to utter chaos in the system of running the country and to the fall of the president himself.

The president's concluding speech to the congress is now often regarded as tough with regard to legislative authority. I see this whole attempt as indulgence in wishful thinking. I see something else here: Evolution both on the part of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, which saw its tactical errors, and and on the part of the president was observable during the work of the deputies' forum.

But this is not the only thing you notice. The draft Law "On the Government of the Russian Federation," introduced on behalf of the president (a few hours before the close of the congress) contains a request that it be adopted... at the congress on its first reading. Given the form of relations existing between government and parliament, this is merely a joke. You asked to be given it within a month—here you have it today. We are so talented and efficient that we can do anything.

In form, but what about content? The content of the draft law is such that if the congress really did adopt it in toto, the role of the Russian legislative body would effectively be reduced to the role of a Roman senator during the time of Julius Caesar, that is purely decorative.

The hand of Sergey Shakhray is easily discernible behind the text of the draft law. It is not just the style, but the approaches which are the giveway. Article 10 of this document states, for example, that persons belonging to the government are to be paid a retirement gratuity equivalent to one year's pay if released early from their post, provided this is not occasioned by the perpetration of unlawful acts. Other "social guarantees" are also envisaged. Not so long ago it was indeed the state adviser on legal issues who expressed the idea that, given the parlous state of Russia today, a state official should receive a salary very close to that of a minister. This will allegedly safeguard him from the lure of corruption.

In his concluding speech the president in effect disagreed with this when he recognized the need to "end the nomenklatura privileges of the leading personnel of both executive and legislative authority," which have proven too tenacious and attractive. Nor did he agree with reducing parliament to the position of a nominal body and he expressed the government's desire to meet parliament half-way for the purpose of joint work to successfully implement reforms, not to mention the fact that the president rejected the "purely negative assessment" of the congress.

Why?

I think that the president came to the conclusion during the congress that, although the criticism of the government was at times severe, it was generated not just by personal ambition (and there was enough of that, of course), but by the really serious situation of broad strata of the country's population. Figuratively speaking, the president was struck by the icy wind of onerous responsibility for the country's future. He was told what the government would never have told him.

I think that Yeltsin's concluding speech to the Congress shows that his proposal to parliament to cooperate with it was dictated primarily by a sense of responsibility to the population of the country at this difficult transitional

moment in its history. The economic collapse, after all, is not yet complete. The underpinning and components of the future economic order have yet to crystallize in the crucible of the crisis. No analyst has yet said that the economic reform will lead unfailing to success before 1992 is out.

But in the event of failure, even temporary failure, the people will present the bill not to the government or the president's immediate entourage, but to the president himself. Given this, it is too risky to confine all responsibility in the head of state alone. It is risky not just on the personal plane, but in terms of the success of reform itself and, consequently, the future of the people.

Those who closely followed the progress of the congress rather than merely counting the points scored by the opposing sides could not fail to see that ultimately the government got the better of the conservatives, who were gathering strength thanks to the difficulties experienced during the course of reform. The conservatives were overcome by the congress. The leaders of parliament did not falter at critical moments and were able to carry the majority of deputies with them by defending reform and not allowing the president to be spurred into direct confrontation with congress.

Congress Polemics, Deputies 'Impotence' Eyed

PM2704112992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Shinkin: "Do You Think That You Can Be Manipulated? Yes!"]

[Text] "Do You Think That You Can Be Manipulated?".."Yes!" That was the answer that deputies gave in the heat of the debate to a question from the chairman of the congress. They roared in unison.

This could be regarded as congress high jinks: Sadly there is not much of that here. But as the great poet remarked, it would have been funny were it not so tragic. It is tragic because in the many clashes over sometimes farfetched principles, deputies forget the people, whose interests they are supposed to be protecting and on whose behalf they are conducting their desperate debates.

The deputies' recognition of their own impotence is due, according to the specialists, to the lack of a real parliamentary system here and the low standard and poor preparation of the people's elected representatives themselves. In their opinion, only about one-third of the speeches are well reasoned and get to the heart of the problem under discussion. The rest are more like populist political declarations. The uncompromising struggle between deputies' factions also plays a not inconsiderable role here. In the heat of emotions, of course, it is very easy to impose a necessary decision. It is a good thing that the deputies have finally realized that.

Time indeed. After all, to judge by statistics, the socio-economic situation in Russia is not shaping up well. For example, consumer prices in March compared with the same month last year have risen 13.6 times. Whereas wages across the national economy as a whole in that period increased by just 80 percent compared with December 1991. What further comment is necessary here? I shall merely add the following figures. Average per capita income was 895 rubles [R] at the start of the year as against a guideline social normative of R1,500. One can only guess at the distortions that will result from the increase in prices for energy sources.

But the deputies, it seems, are really crazy about debates. How many lances have they broken over amendments to the Constitution! But to what effect? As deputies themselves note, as a result of the disputes the Basic Law has only been "purged" of the old communist dogmas. Some clarity has also been introduced into relations between the legislative and the executive.

The entire futility of the polemic, in my view, was well demonstrated in the discussion of article one of the Constitution. The issue concerned changing our state's name. Seven versions were offered. After lengthy discussions 871 deputies finally voted that our country be called "Russia" ["Rossiya"]. But some immediately saw an infringement of the ethnic minorities in that name. The congress spent almost another two sessions deciding a name for our state to suit everyone.

President B. Yeltsin proposed what in my view was a sound amendment. It was as follows: "The Russian Federation—Russia—is a sovereign federal state created by the peoples historically united in it.

"The sovereignty of the people, federalism, a republic form of rule, and the separation of powers are the unshakable foundations of Russia's system.

"The state names of 'Russian Federation' and 'Russia' are synonymous."

No, that did not suit everyone. The result is that the night before we lived in Russia but in the future we will live in a state called "Russian Federation—Russia." It is both funny and tragic.

The debate on the amendments to the Constitution show that the discussion of the new draft Basic Law will in all probability produce nothing. As of today there are several versions of the new Constitution. Deputies can hardly decide which one they prefer. It is likely that the new draft Constitution will be discussed at the next congress. Furthermore, according to those who know, no one cares any more—neither the supporters of the reforms nor the opposition.

Even though R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, stated at the congress yesterday when presenting the draft new Constitution prepared by parliament's Constitutional Commission, that it is "close to the optimum model reflecting the interests of all strata of

our society." And the other drafts of the Basic Law, in his opinion, "sometimes confuse people."

In his view, the main concept of the official draft is the existence of an "effective president and an effective parliament" and the "equilibrium of the top organs of executive and legislative power." It is guaranteed in the following way: Top officials are appointed by the president with parliament's consent. The president does not have the right to dissolve parliament and parliament cannot dismiss the president in principle or the government as a whole. At parliament's demand, however, the president can dismiss ministers or parliament can do this by will and right. The government acts under the president's leadership.

The press and the faction supporting the radical reforms are still "sniping" at R. Khasbulatov. A plan and description of his new apartment were distributed at the congress. Of course, the layout and area are impressive. But the question is: Why not describe the kind of apartments that our other acknowledged leaders live in and what privileges they enjoy? And if Ruslan Imranovich has become the speaker of a great state, should he live in a communal apartment?

When discussing the work of the congress with a colleague, I remembered Lincoln's words that you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time. Our politicians should heed those words, I think.

Economic Declaration Full of 'Hidden Tricks'

PM2704141192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 2

[Miroslav Buzhkevich "Polemical Comments": "Agreed Draw"]

[Text] The political and constitutional crisis that arose from the clash between deputies and the government, troubling Russians and alarming many governments and business circles abroad, seems to have been resolved. It took the Congress some quarter of an hour to adopt the "Declaration on Support for Economic Reform in the Russian Federation." I could not even believe that a peaceable compromise was possible after the stormy disputes over the Congress resolution on the president's report, during which Ye. Gaydar's team left the conference room. What forces had come to work in the Kremlin and on Staraya Ploshchad?

The power struggle is an area of subtle politics, separated from cunning political intrigue by an imaginary curtain. While deputies were discussing the law on amendments to the current constitution, somewhere near the conference hall work was under way to reconcile the positions espoused by the opposing sides. It could not have been otherwise: It is hard to settle problems of this kind at a crowded talking shop, which was virtually what the Congress had become.

Political maneuverings are always reminiscent of games, moreover, games on the verge of a foul, to use a sporting metaphor. In an effort to get their own way, partners often do not baulk at disregarding facts, engaging in misinformation, and using other methods. The clash between the legislature and the executive and the quests for a compromise were no exception.

In the government's findings on the economic, social, and political consequences of implementing the congress resolution on the course of reform in Russia, Ye. Gaydar's team predicted the total collapse of the budgetary and financial system. One of the reasons being the indexation of the population's savings bank deposits, which would require at least 1 trillion rubles [R]. Upholding the inviolability of their own reform plans, the authors of the findings forgot one tiny point: The item on the indexation of deposits was omitted from the congress draft resolution. In exchange the parliament and government were instructed to jointly study the possibility of such a financial operation. The plan was simple: While opponents were taking note of this "misinformation," the bomb would drop: Where indeed was the R1 trillion to come from?

Take another reproach that the government leveled at populist deputies. They, it said, are supporting group interests with no thought for the consequences, winning themselves prestige among the people. And who is unaware that the government itself took this very path long before this Congress? Remember the trips that vice premiers and ministers paid to mining regions that ended with decisions on huge [mnogokratnyy] increases in miners' wage rates. If only they had not gone on strike. Then the militants on the Burbulis-Gaydar team would not have regarded these steps as populist support for miners' group interests to the detriment of the interests of workers in other industries. And now the proposal to raise the wages of personnel in budget-funded organizations is being declared populist protection for group interests.

Deputies did not remain indebted to Ye. Gaydar's team. Both before and after the resolution on the course of economic reform in Russia was adopted, there were sporadic calls for the resignation of these "boys in pink pants." But who does not understand that the resignation of the incumbent government, apart from casting a shadow of impotence over President B. Yeltsin, may paralyze the whole course of reform? Yet salvation for Russia's peoples lies in these reforms being successfully advanced provided that there are amendments to the work now under way and that the inevitable difficulties besetting us all are eased.

What about the president? Many people expected B. Yeltsin to intervene and have his weighty say at the height of the government-congress clash. But he did not put in an appearance in the hall. Like the great actor Kachalov or the great hockey player Kharlamov, he took a break, preferring to influence the course of events from the shadows: On the one hand, he cannot send his

beloved Ye. Gaydar's team to the "slaughter," but on the other hand there is obviously no reason to quarrel with deputies, it is risky. Only last Thursday [16 April] the president appeared on our television screens for a couple of minutes during the evening "Novosti" to advise the government with a smile to ponder its future actions following the reconciliation with the Congress.

What was the nature of this "reconciliation" and did it really occur? After joint work by Congress and government representatives, deputies were offered the "Declaration of Support for Economic Reform in the Russian Federation," which was adopted in a flash although there were more than 130 amendments to it. No attention was paid to them—everyone was seized by euphoria at the thought that the crisis of power was over.

The declaration is a political document with none of the juridical force vested in a congress resolution. It suits the government in that it proclaims determination to consistently continue the course of economic reform. Deputies received assurances that the congress resolution on the course of these reforms would remain in force. Lastly, foreign partners are also reassured—to their delight, Russia is taking its chosen path of democracy and the market. Everyone is pleased, thank you all!

In actual fact the declaration, announced as an act reconciling the legislature and the executive, is full of hidden tricks. For instance, it says that the congress resolution on the course of reform will be implemented with consideration for the prevailing economic situation. In practice this justifies any actions by the government, totally freeing its hands. Certain provisions can be interpreted in various ways. For instance, the government and its supporters regard the reference to the decisions adopted by the previous Fifth Congress of People's Deputies as a pledge that the incumbent Cabinet of Ministers will exist through 1 December, something that the president tried to achieve.

By and large you get the impression that the conflicting parties, unable to conquer one another and tired of constant clashes often brought about by ambition, political intrigue, or mere score-settling, have decided to declare a temporary respite. Something like an agreed draw. As it happens in soccer.

But that is soccer, and here we are talking about the life of the country and millions of people with their troubles and hopes. They sincerely want there to be peace and harmonious work in the upper echelons—without that you will not get anywhere in organizing life. But the extremely shaky consensus that has been secured between the powers that be is a kind of agreed draw and may easily develop into another clash, political kickboxing, or a shareout of posts and officials, each participant giving assurances that he is honestly defending nothing but the people's interests. While the people's lives are increasingly deteriorating and they are about to go to the world cap in hand.

Government's 'Fragile Compromise' Appraised

PM2804102392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "Congress and Society Opt for Compromise"]

[Text] It is not easy to extract the meaning of a two-week-long political event which has in turn been a drama and a farce, but which was essentially something from the theater of the absurd. Without having resolved a single contradiction in Russian politics, the Congress did not so much take them to extremes as to lay them bare. It became completely obvious that there is a crisis of power in Russia. And if the graphic depiction of this crisis, with its daily airing on television, is perceived as socially useful, then we should thank the congress for at least giving us the opportunity to part with our illusions, if we still had any: Alas both the vertical presidential power structure and the legislative organs are still powerless.

But whereas the government, and the president who puts his trust in it, displayed a readiness to unstintingly pursue the course of reforms, the majority of deputies brought the historical ghost of the tired old guard into the conference hall through their incompetent interference in the economy, having spread rumors about the impending dissolution of Congress and parliament, and about convening a Constituent Assembly...A temptation appeared, which was all the more widespread due to "Democratic Russia's" rallies, to completely reject (of course "temporarily" as in 1918) the legislative power which has discredited itself, with only a small step separating us from authoritarianism, which is so close, comprehensible, and desired by many people still. In the face of such a prospect, the speaker's categorical demands to respect the legislative organ (even though they might have been prompted by strictly personal interest) do not seem empty. The government's maneuvers which are devious though forced on it, and the success they gained under duress, also hardly give reason for calm. This government is incompatible with this congress. The compromise decision to extend the president's additional powers for another three months only puts off the final outcome in the struggle between the powers. After that, there will either be a genuinely authoritarian regime if it comes to abolishing the representative organs, or there will be new elections which will in no way guarantee the formation of a progressive corps of deputies.

The fragile compromise, to use the president's expression, which has been achieved and does not satisfy anyone completely, is, however, to everyone's advantage, since not a single one of the political forces enjoys reliable support among the masses today. The truce which has been concluded helps support the state of fragile compromise in which the whole of our society is living, being protected from tragic upheavals, it seems, only by an instinct of self-preservation.

The president also displayed an ability to make concessions under the pressure of political circumstances when he simply cast aside the administration's head Yuriy Petrov (remember: "I will not cast Petrov aside!") and moved Sergey Shakhray and Gennadiy Burbulis from their post as vice-premiers. The latter, having taken up the nonconstitutional post of state secretary, is now, perhaps, in a very shaky position. After all, we do not know how far Yeltsin's loyalty to his closest comrades-in-arms will go, but we remember well how the hasty parting with Yakovlev and Shevardnadze ended for Gorbachev.

One way or another, state power, having spent two weeks in the Great Kremlin Palace, departed from there even less united than when it went in. On the other hand, no sooner had it begun to seem like there would be a dissolution than the corps of deputies gave a display of corporate solidarity, having instantaneously overcome its differences of opinion. As far as the opposition's claims for power are concerned, they turned out to be premature owing to a lack of any serious programs capable of putting up real competition against the government's. But every cloud has a silver lining: An organizational shaping of political interests has taken place, represented by the factions of "Russian Unity" (310 deputies), the coalition in support of reforms (300), and the centrist bloc (154). Now, the struggle will at least continue in a relatively civilized manner: When diverse public interests are represented in a legislative organ, there is at least a chance to partially save politics from interference by the mob.

However all this is a "ricochet," the results of hitting the target, which the congress agenda had set up, are far more modest. What did the supreme assembly actually accomplish? It forced the president to make a report on the economic reform's progress. It adopted the declaration in support of reforms under the threat of a referendum promising the dissolution of Congress and parliament. It adopted the Declaration On the Situation in the Dniester Region. It ratified the Federation Treaty. It renamed the Russian Federation "The Russian Federation. Russia," though as part of the nonexistent USSR. It allowed Leningrad to be considered renamed St. Petersburg, though not immediately. It renounced socialist competition with difficulty. It examined the question of the status of the peoples of the north...

The Congress did not and could not adopt the draft of the new Constitution, having concentrated on patching up the old one with dozens of amendments which were not terribly significant. Yeltsin's attitude toward the various drafts was simply not clarified, including what was supposedly his own draft, prepared by Shakhray. Evidently, Yeltsin realized this congress could not adopt any constitution.

The almost two-week-long absence of the head of state from the hall of the Great Kremlin Palace and his marked detachment from what was happening there left us in no doubt: The president was putting his own emphasis on this event. This is probably what happened, but Yeltsin's role at the Congress should not be reduced to that of a political gambler, albeit an experienced and outstanding one. The deep split in the deputies' factions, and their exhausting struggle which ultimately rendered the sides weakened, forced the president to take on a more responsible role—that of political arbiter. Not to inflame passions, since they are already inflamed to the utmost, but to reconcile them as much as possible—this is the role in which Gorbachev had earlier shone in an unsurpassed manner, and in which Yeltsin now also made his debut. True, there was one difference: The former USSR president, steering a course between his comrades-in-arms from the party and the democratic opposition, simply did not get down to the reforms, whereas due to Yeltsin's resolve the "process has gotten off the ground" in deeds and not just in words.

Sweeping aside the two extremes which could destroy Russian statehood—the urge, on the one hand, to depose representative power and, on the other hand, to put the government in the position of a provisional government, the president concluded the congress with an appeal for dialogue. He set out principles for cooperation in the proposed draft law "On the Russian Federation Government": Parliament determines the cabinet's structure, and parliament also confirms the prime minister's appointment which the president has made.

There were promises of a reshuffle in the reforms cabinet. It is most likely that this will end with an insignificant reassignment of personnel. For the moment only the president himself, whose popularity rating incidentally rose from 43 to 57 percent during the Congress, knows who will leave and who will join it. As if to consolidate this success, Yeltsin did not hold back and gave populism its due. His desire to "correct the mistakes in social policy" and to raise minimum pensions to 900 rubles hardly fits in with his support for Gaydar's financial policy and his firm statement: "Russia will live within its means." And the appeal to "put an end to the nomenklatura's privileges" looks like nothing more than the usual rhetoric.

It seems that Yeltsin, through his concluding speech delivered in a tone of kindly diplomacy and imbued with a spirit of skilled compromise, has disproved his reputation of being an unpredictable politician. The absence of harsh judgments and categorical assessments in his speech are merely external signs of a skill he is acquiring to restrain his vigorous political temperament. There is something else which seems to be more profound and substantial—his ability to not only personify the fragile compromise of political forces at the highest state level, but to be perhaps the final and sole guarantor of this compromise. Which, incidentally, all the warring sides understand well. Some called for the congress to be dissolved, others for the government to resign, but nobody took it upon himself to demand the president's removal, although his rear is not secured by party support and the reforms which he has started still lack widespread support in society.

It is evident that the point is not whether Yeltsin's position is firm or shaky. Whichever politicians were now to claim the role of the fatherland's fathers, no one is for the moment daring to unsettle the weak equilibrium of forces at the summit of political power. But the fragile compromise will not last long. Not because the political protagonists have been smitten by the virus of eternal struggle, but mainly because any society in a transitional period can guarantees itself nothing but upheavals by leaving its authorities without power.

PRAVDA Reviews Economic Aspects

PM2704125392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 92 p 2

[Gennadiy Yastrebtsov article under the "Economic Barometer" rubric: "Compromise Demands Sacrifices"]

[Text] After the shaky compromise achieved at the Congress between the deputies and the Russian Government, the confidence of our fellow citizens that things will now go better in the economy has scarcely increased. The threat of mass strikes has intensified, and the Gaydar team is itself to blame for this. Having created the precedent of the administrative increase in wages for miners, the government has thereby provoked an avalanche of similar demands from millions of representatives of other mass professions.

Privatization, which was expected to produce an influx of money into the treasury, has so far produced little in Moscow, although some 5,000 of the capital's public catering and everyday service enterprises have been transferred into private hands within the past two-and-a-half months.

The cost of living is rising daily. Statistics show that in December 1991 the index of consumer prices for Russia as a whole was 160 percent up on December 1990. In January of this year the index was 800 percent up on December 1990; in February it was up by a factor of 12.9, and in March 14.9. Pay is not keeping up with rapidly rising prices. In March the purchasing power of the ruble was equal to that of 17.5 kopeks last December, or of 6.7 kopeks in December 1990.

The overwhelming majority of our people find themselves below the minimum subsistence level. The verbal skirmish betwee deputies and ministers at the Congress essentially led nowhere. Both the resolution on the progress of economic reform and the declaration on support for it, although they untied the government's hands, by no means, I think, rule out a new round of confrontation in the near future.

Nevertheless, some people both at home and abroad are inclined to believe that the government has won the the first round of the economic battle outright. This was noticeable even from the television screens: Representatives of the democratic factions exulted in the Great Kremlin Palace and smiling members of the government cabinet shook one another's hands in heartfelt relief. Bearing in mind the fact that the declaration adopted by the Congress states that the Congress resolution on the progress of the reforms will be fulfilled **making allowances for the prevailing economic situation** (my emphasis—G. Ya.), the government's hands are indeed untied. As for the practical results of the reforms—let us wait and see.

Here, for example, is what the British FINANCIAL TIMES, a newspaper well versed in economics, writes: "The tough financial policy, which is in line with IMF recommendations, has been subjected to virulent criticism not only from the Russian Congress, which reluctantly supported it in general outline, but also from independent economists. The Russian Government has been forced to make numerous amendments to its policy and to devote more attention to the social protection of the population, which risks increasing the budget deficit, expected to reach 5 percent of GNP in the second quarter."

And on the same topic the Japanese NIHON KEIZAI says: "Superficially it appears that only partial amendments have been made to the new draft economic program announced by President Yeltsin at the beginning of the Congress. However, these amendments in fact presuppose a significant deceleration of the reform process...."

Many experts question the claim that a ruble stabilization fund of $6 billion will indeed lead to the stabilization of the former USSR's monetary unit. Judging by the foreign press commentaries, the "G-7" countries are as yet far from unanimous on the question of granting financial aid to the former Soviet republics.

Well, today we badly need hard currency. However, as the saying goes, trust to God, but keep your powder dry. The fate of Russia and its peoples is not to be settled in Washington, nor in Paris, nor even at the democrats' noisy Moscow rallies in defense of the president's "special powers." The market for the sake of the market, or democracy for democracy's own sake will not bring light at the end of the dark tunnel into which we have all been dragged. It is time that the present leaders of the country understood: The people are by no means against reforms or rational and speedy transformations of the economy; they are against barbaric methods of implementing such reforms, strong-arm "shock therapy," the impoverishment of Russia, and Russia's total dependence on the West.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Makes First Time Visit to Arkhangelsk

LD2804112792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1030 GMT 28 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Anufriyev and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk April 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today arrived in Arkhangelsk—the old Russian city on the White Sea coast. It is known from history as the first Russian sea trading port.

At the airport Yeltsin told journalists that the aim of his trip to the north consisted of, firstly, familiarizing himself with the region which he had never visited before, and, secondly, to see how the decisions made by the Sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies should be implemented in the region.

Outside the airport, the motorcade stopped for Yeltsin to have a brief conversation with inhabitants of Arkhangelsk. The president met the airport's pilots, air traffic controllers and technicians who were waiting for him there. He asked them about their living conditions and attitude toward the latest developments in the country. Despite high prices and the difficult ecological situation in the region, people believe in reforms and support the president. This was the key-note of what they told Yeltsin.

From the airport Yeltsin drove to Severodvinsk, Arkhangelsk's satellite town. Severodvinsk is an industrial centre on the White Sea coast producing nuclear-powered submarines. The town with a population of 250,000 is economically part of the defence industry. As military orders are dwindling, the problems of conversion loom over the place.

The Russian president is expected to spend two days in the northern region of Arkhangelsk. He is scheduled to visit the Plesetsk Cosmodrome to witness the launching of the spacecraft Resurs.

Vice Premier Makharadze Visits Volga Region

PM2704132192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Apr 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Oleg Zlobin: "Trial by Life"]

[Text] Saratov—Samara, Saratov, Penza, and Volgograd—that is the route of the working tour by Russian Vice Premier V. Makharadze and the leaders of a number of ministries and departments accompanying him. There are no signs of a warm reception and welcome speeches: Too many problems requiring serious and at times impartial discussion have accumulated. V. Makharadze told journalists in Saratov that this, the first trip after the stormy debates in the Kremlin, aims to perform urgent tasks linked with the harvest campaign and the approaching spring flood and also to study in depth and in detail the situation in the Volga area. The government must realize and sense why reforms are still marking time at local level, V. Makharadze stressed, and why the new economic mechanism is not working.

Moscow To Receive Sufficient Gasoline

LD2704215792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As I promised at the beginning of the broadcast, a piece of good news for tonight: From today Moscow will be receiving the necessary norm of motor fuel. Uninterrupted supplies of it will start from Ryazan, Nizhniy Novgorod, and also from Moscow itself. This is reported by RIA agency quoting the Department of Transport and Communications. This does not mean the queues will disappear automatically but one can always hope.

Moscow Minister Says 'No Forced Privatization'

LD2504103792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1523 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Apr—There will be no forced privatization. The privatization program, elaboration of which was completed today, is based on economic expediency. Yuriy Andreyev, head of the municipal property department and minister in the Moscow government, said this at a news conference held today. One of the main tasks of the privatization process which has begun in the Russian capital is to ensure that the switch from collective to private ownership runs smoothly, he commented. Yuriy Andreyev believes that Moscow is now the place in Russia which is best prepared for carrying out large-scale privatization. Around 6,000 trade, catering, and consumer service enterprises are already owned by their labor collectives. The city budget has received 213 million rubles.

Sobchak Appeals to Yeltsin Over Oblast Land

LD2504104492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak addressed a request to the Russian president for permission to dispose of land in Leningrad oblast without the participation of the oblast administration. The oblast administration is attempting to preserve the administrative command system of collective farms and state farms around St. Petersburg. However, the real means of providing the city with food is the development of private farms, he stated.

Chechen's Demand Aukhovskiy Region Restoration

LD2704211192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1916 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Groznyy—Approximately 1 thousand Chechens gathered at the Lenin Square in Makhachkala, on April 27, demanded to restore the Aukhovskiy region of Dagestan for accommodating the Chechen-Akins.

Shirinbek Shikhabidov, head of the press group at the Interior Ministry of Dagestan, said in his April 27 interview with PF [POSTFACTUM] that the Chechens demanded to be settled in Aukhovskiy region, where they used to reside prior to the 1943 deportation. The government intends to resettle the luck population, currently residing in the region, to Novolak district. Tenglik People's Movement, which has declared the Aukhovskiy region the original territory of Kumyk nationality, is opposing the decision. In the evening of April 26, the militia used weapons to prevent skirmishes between Lucks and Tenglick's proponents. According to Shikhabidov, militiamen clubbed 2 members of Tenglick. 10 thousand members of Tenglick Movement set up an encampment on the 15th kilometer of Mahachkala-Sulak route to prevent the Lucks' resettlement.

Tenglick movement supports the creation of Kumyk autonomous republic within Dagestan. Kumyk population accounts for 250-270 thousand of the total population of the republic currently exceeding 1 million people.

Tatarstan National Guard Plans Denied

PM2804135192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Apr 92 p 3

[RIA report: "Vice President Promises: 'There Can Be No Question of Any Tatarstan National Guard.' Young Men Will Be Drafted to CIS Jointed Armed Forces and Russian Army"]

[Text] Kazan—"There can be no question of any Tatarstan national guard, since the government will never embark on the republic's militarization," Republic of Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev told an RIA correspondent.

"Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev has frequently said that the republic does not need its own army; this was also stated at the Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies by Tatarstan Prime Minister Mukhamat Sabirov," Likhachev stressed. "Questions of military building and mutual relations in the military field between Tatarstan and the Russian Federation will be discussed by the presidents of Russia and Tatarstan during their personal meeting," Likhachev said.

But the republic's vice president noted that in Tatarstan there are several national public organizations which consider it essential to create a national guard.

Vasiliy Likhachev recalled that there is a decree of the president of Tatarstan banning the creation of any illegal armed formations.

Prices High, Supply Poor in Komi Capital

PM2804104592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Video report by Ye. Kuznetsov and V. Titov from Syktyvkar; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to Russian social survey services, Syktyvkar, the capital of Komi, ranks among the cities with the highest cost of living in the country. Coupons, which were introduced by the authorities for purchases of goods at fixed prices or goods in limited supply, are still in force here.

However, the state's monopoly on production and trade makes these coupons meaningless. Pasta has not been available for two months, and butter never.

The so-called commercial prices are astronomical, the range of goods available at these prices is limited, and the goods themselves are not exactly fresh. However, trade outlets are not worried that the goods might perish. The prices are not going down. A number of articles, especially alcohol and cigarettes, are clearly being siphoned off from state trade outlets into the hands of private dealers. It is obvious that a large share of the trade margin goes to maintain administrative, agro-industrial, and trade network apparatuses whose staffing is not being reduced.[video shows coupons, street and store scenes and shelves with price tags, poster]

First Congress of Kabardinian People Ends

OW2604144992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1314 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Nalchik, capital of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic within the Russian Federation, the first session of the Congress of the Kabardinian People was over yesterday (April 25). The principal issue at the congress was the future political system of the republic. No formal decision was taken, however, since none of the four drafts submitted got the number of votes necessary for it to have been passed.

The more radical delegates insisted on the proclamation of the Republic of Kabarda and the immediate forming of a state council which would take over all power in the republic.

Others proposed vesting the congress with powers to propose laws and having its executive committee incorporated in the Supreme Soviet of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic.

The congress will go back to the issue at its next session, which will open on May 15.

International Affairs

Zlenko Cited on Arms' 'Limited Storage Terms'

AU2704075092 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 16 Apr 92 p 1

[Commentary by Olena Hubina: "Nuclear Missiles, Like Food Supplies, Have Limited Storage Terms"]

[Text] There is now less talk abroad about the division of the property of the former USSR, because, it seems that Russia shows extreme dislike for this kind of talk. We hear that Russo-Polish joint ventures are being created in Poland on the basis of that property. Confidently pursuing a policy toward the succession of the Union, Russia, at a recent meeting of leaders of external political departments of Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan and Byelarus, expressed a desire to be a single legal "other side" to the American-Soviet treaty on the reduction of nuclear weapons that was signed in 1990. Ukraine offered its own view of the situation: Four nuclear weapons must figure as a single "other side." It seems that Kazakhstan tends to support Ukraine's stand and Byelarus gravitates toward Russia. Thus, all the parties went in their own directions, everybody adhering to his own ideas.

Ukraine is again ready to transfer its nuclear weapons to Russia for destruction, but all of this must proceed under international supervision. Ukraine's minister of foreign affairs Anatoliy Zlenko reassured opponents of "the transfer of the nuclear potential into the hands of an aggressor" in this way: Russia will not be able to keep them forever, because, like food, they have limited storage terms after which they become extremely dangerous. These are not embassy buildings that only need to be repaired in time to serve Russia forever.

Arms Supply to Czechoslovakia To Resume

LD2404161192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1954 GMT 23 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague April 23 TASS— Ukraine will resume the supply of arms to Czechoslovakia soon. This is provided for by an agreement on cooperation between the Defence Ministries of the two countries in the military field.

The document was signed in Prague on Thursday [23 April] by Lieutenant General Karel Pezl, chief of the general staff of the Czechoslovak Army, and Lieutenant General Georgy Zhivitsya, acting chief of the general staff of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

When meeting journalists, the Ukrainian general also touched the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, stating that principled talks on the issue are being held only now. The talks should introduce clarity to the obtaining situation.

At the same time, according to the Czechoslovak News Agency CSTK, Zhivitsya made it clear that Ukraine lays claim to the entire fleet which is in its territorial waters, emphasising that from the military point of view the Black Sea Fleet is not a strategic force.

The general reaffirmed Ukraine's intention to remove tactical nuclear weapons from its territory by July 1, 1992.

Ukraine intends to sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty independently as befits an independent state, the Ukrainian military leader remarked. He said there would be 200,000-250,000 men in the Ukrainian Army by 1998 following the reductions.

'Serious Concern' Voiced Over Military Unit

PM2704134192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 92 p 2

[Correspondent Major A. Stasovskiy report under the "Situation" rubric: "Ukrainian and Russian Armed Forces: Another 'Iron Curtain'?"]

[Text] On 14 April KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published information entitled "What We Have Come To: Ambitions Are Even Preventing Us From Paying Our Respects to the Dead." It reported that the Ukrainian Defense Ministry had not permitted the passage of an aircraft from Moscow to Lvov carrying a group of Airborne Troops officers and relatives of the servicemen who had died in Khyrov, Lvov Oblast, as a result of an accident.

After this our Kiev correspondent, Colonel Anatoliy Polyakov, was approached by Lieutenant General Georgiy Zhivitsa, acting chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff. He said, in particular:

"The military unit where the tragic incident occurred is part of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The Carpathian Military District Military Prosecutor's Office immediately set about analyzing what had happened. Why should officers from Airborne Troops headquarters arrive if this unit is not subordinate to them?"

Having taken one side's opinion into consideration, we approached the Airborne Troops commander's headquarters—not to inflame the argument, of course, but to establish the truth.

Colonel Aleksey Bobylev reported that to this day the the CIS Joint Armed Forces Airborne Troops provide material, financial, and legal backup to the Airborne Troops Khyrov Training Center. These troops have always been subordinate to the center. Therefore even the transfer of the Carpathian Military District to Ukrainian jurisdiction has not changed anything here. And for that matter, Col. Bobylev went on, the training center's transfer to Ukraine has still not been legally registered; all this is taking place on the spur of the moment. But for the time being the unit is carrying out orders from Airborne

Troops headquarters. As regards the talks on permitting the flight from Moscow to Lvov, Lt. Gen. Osvaldas Pikauskas, first deputy commander of CIS Joint Armed Forces Airborne Troops, said that Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov was categorical in a telephone conversation: There is nothing, he said, for you to do on Ukrainian territory.

It is, of course, regrettable when a "war of jurisdictions and decrees" hinders the military from organizing combat training and improving normal daily life and service. But when this misunderstanding also breaks down good human relations between people who have spent a very long time together on the training ground and have helped each other out in emergencies at risk of their lives, then this, apart from regret, also causes serious concern.

Levko Lukyanenko Named Ambassador to Canada

AU2404150692 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1330 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Report by Svitlana Korotych]

[Text] This piece of information was delivered at the URP [Ukrainian Republican Party] news conference: Levko Lukyanenko, chairman of the URP, will resign at the congress. Quite soon, he will leave for Canada where he will assume his duties as Ukraine's ambassador.

Ambassador to Germany Presents Credentials

LD2704215492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn April 27 TASS—Ukrainian Ambassador to Germany Ivan Piskovoy presented credentials to German President Richard von Weizsaecker on Monday.

After the ceremony, Piskovoy and Weizsaecker discussed bilateral relations and prospects for cooperation between Ukraine and Germany.

National Affairs

'Normal Atmosphere' for Black Sea Talks Asked

LD2804122192 Kiev UKRINFORM Diplomatic Information Service in Russian 0940 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Kiev, 28 Apr (UKRINFORM)—According to a mutual agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, inter-state talks on the Black Sea Fleet are to be held in Odessa 29-30 April.

Taking into account the situation which has arisen around this issue, the state delegation of Ukraine is appealing to soviets of all levels, to presidential representatives of Ukraine, to oblasts, cities and rayons, to political parties, organizations and movements, to the Military Council, to commanders of formations, units, battalions, subunits, to the entire staff of the Black Sea Fleet, and to workers of the press, radio, and television to guarantee a normal atmosphere everywhere for the duration of the talks and to refrain from political declarations, unbalanced reports, or speeches or other actions in relation to the Black Sea Fleet and Crimea as a whole.

The delegation considers that such complicated issues should be discussed profoundly and in detail through inter-state negotiations in a normal, calm atmosphere, through the explanation of positions and the search for acceptable solutions without any forced pressure.

'Moratorium' Called for on Status of Crimea

PM2704142492 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 92 p 7

[Correspondent Boris Sverdlov report: "'Presentiment of Crimean War': Opinion of 'Polis-TV' Researchers"]

[Text] Simferopol—TAVRICHESKIYE VEDOMOSTI is a young historical and literary newspaper which has undoubtedly found a readership.

In a recent issue, at the request of the editorial office, the "Polis-TV" center for political research, on the basis of its own observations as well as the activities of state structures involved in Crimean events, published an interesting item headed "Presentiment of Crimean War."

First the researchers predicted the collapse of the autonomous formation's Supreme Soviet. Irrespective of the future development of events. If it does not venture to hold a referendum (for which signatures have already been collected), it will come under "fire" from a significant proportion of the city's population, the Crimean Republican Movement, and certain Russian [rossiyskiy] circles, which will lead not only to a boycott of the legislative body, but also to the creation of a parallel power structure which will be headed by republican deputies. The divided parliament will be unable to adopt the Crimean constitution, and that will force it to disband itself.

On the other hand, if the Supreme Soviet agrees to hold a referendum, it will be forcing Kiev to sign its death warrant. It is naive to hope that Kiev will let the Crimea go. Especially since it has significant sanctions available to it—up to and including the dissolution of the autonomous formation's Supreme Soviet and the imposition of direct presidential rule. So in any event the Crimean parliament will be the scapegoat. Support from Russia for those deputies with republican inclinations is basically ruled out, since the CIS would regard that as inciting separatism in regions with a dense Russian [russkiy] population.

What do the researchers think about the peninsula's subsequent fate? They believe that Russia will not be able to defend the Crimea. At the same time Ukraine will

not give it up, but will not get it either. Russia's patriotic movement, whose influence on the Crimeans is very great, will keep coming back to the Crimean question. On the other hand, holding on to the Crimea is basically a matter of honor for the young sovereign Ukraine. Even a slight easing up on the Crimean question would boost the desire for autonomy in Novorossiya, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, the Donbass...

All the same, the Crimean problem cannot be seen solely in the context of Russian-Ukrainian differences. In the event that these differences are exacerbated, this will cause concern in the West, and Turkey in particular. Turkey will not be slow to step up its influence over the peninsula. After all, the majlis [assembly] leaders, despite the support of official Kiev, have already appealed to the southern neighbor for help in resolving pressing questions. Moreover the majlis is stubbornly trying to ignore local politicians who believe that the main aim is to create a statehood of Crimean Tatars within Ukraine. By virtue of the peninsula's geostrategic position, the "Crimean crisis" could have a substantial influence on the situation in the Black Sea region and in southeast Europe.

Is there a way out of the crisis? Yes, "Polis-TV" believes. There should be an immediate moratorium, for at least six months, on holding a referendum, and at the same time on Defining the Crimea's status. Here the initiator could be the Republican Movement, as organizer of the collection of signatures. The moratorium must without fail be supported by the Ukrainian president and the Crimean Supreme Soviet. During that period it would be possible in a more tranquil atmosphere to work out an in-depth program of economic development for the peninsula and outline models for the development of interethnic relations taking into account the return of the deported peoples. It is crucially important that for the period of the moratorium there should be in operation a mission of the Ukrainian president in Kiev and of the Crimean Republic in Kiev, a Russian consulate in Simferopol, and a Crimean Republic mission in Moscow. The last two could address questions of economic and humanitarian ties, and also tackle problems of granting dual citizenship to a significant proportion of Crimeans. Ignoring all this would only lead to a situation of acute conflict between Russia and Ukraine, with the possibility of the Crimean Tatars becoming involved.

The other day the Kiev newspaper NASH CHAS published an interview with the well-known American political scientist I. Lozov [name as transliterated]. His opinion coincides entirely with that of "Polis-TV." In order to reach a common denominator and avoid a new Karabakh, the leaders of Ukraine, Russia, and the Crimean Republic should sit at the negotiating table without delay.

Presidential Regime in Crimea Possible

AU2704090992 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Apr 92 p 5

[Igor Cibula Kiev dispatch: "Attempts To Drive a Wedge; Ukraine and the First Round of the Battle for Crimea"]

[Text] When I spoke to Mykola Mykhalchenko, adviser to the Ukrainian president, yesterday, he told me that he was about to depart for Crimea where the situation was deteriorating by the hour. In this context it is appropriate to recall that President Leonid Kravchuk himself has sharply criticized "attempts to destabilize the situation in Crimea and to drive a wedge between Crimea and Ukraine." Kravchuk was alluding to the stepped up efforts at Crimea's secession from Ukraine and to Moscow's interest in returning to the situation prior to 1954 when the peninsula in the Black Sea was part of Russia. Presidential adviser Mykhalchenko did not rule out that the situation might require the introduction of presidential regime in Crimea, in case its regional representatives violate the valid Ukrainian constitution. As he pointed out, in the background of Russia's interest in Crimea are the Black Sea Fleet's naval bases and seaports.

At the last meeting of the Rukh supreme body, there was talk about President Kravchuk having already lost the first round of the battle for Crimea. Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach told me that the causes of this defeat must be seen in the insufficient emphasis that is placed in Kravchuk's policy on the building of Ukrainian statehood. Ivan Drach said that it was essential, in particular, to create a truly Ukrainian Army that would protect the interests of independent Ukraine. He spoke critically about the consideration that Kravchuk shows for representatives of the so-called old structures, which, in the opinion of the Rukh chairman, also weakens the process of creating institutions of Ukrainian statehood. Oleh Pavlyshyn, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Party, used a similar tone in an interview with me when he analyzed the present situation. He stressed that the unfavorable development in the so-called Crimean issue might severely weaken President Leonid Kravchuk's position.

Politicians in Kiev do not see a threat to Ukrainian interests only in Crimea but they also refer to the Dniester region and to Romanian claims in southern Bessarabia and northern Bukovina where the situation might develop in a similar direction as in Crimea. The fact does not even come as a surprise that Ukrayinska Natsionalistychna Spilka [Ukrainian vernacular used], a radical nationalist organization, has decided to send its armed units to the Dniester region. According to some reports, its intelligence even operates within Romanian territory from where it provides information on Romanian activities concerning Ukrainian border regions. The information fits into this context that the Rukh leadership has dealt with a proposal to institutionalize the restoration of the traditions of Cossackdom in Ukraine,

with the aim of using these armed formations in protecting the interests of independent Ukraine, should the need arise.

All these circumstances bear out that in the democratic political circles in Kiev there exists no great confidence in the Army's officers corps, despite its oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian president. Even though Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov recently demonstratively claimed that he had Rukh's support, according to Ivan Drach Morozov's Army subordinates are favorably disposed toward the social conditions of officers in Ukraine, which are better than in Russia, rather than toward the consistently upheld idea of Ukrainian statehood. Similar expressions of doubt about its loyalty toward democratic processes are being addressed also to the National Security Service, which came into being, in fact, through the renaming of the Ukrainian KGB and in which no substantial changes of personnel have taken place.

Debate Over Law on Crimean Powers Detailed

PM2704144192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Takes Important Step To Remove Political Tension in Crimea"]

[Text] On 22 April the republic parliament adopted the "Ukrainian Law on the Demarcation of Powers Between Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea" at the first reading. According to the statement of one of the people who delivered co-reports, this document lays down for the Crimeans rights not possessed today by a single state in the United States or any of the land parliaments in the FRG.

During discussion of the document it was announced that it had taken almost five months to draft. In view of the current political tension in the Crimea, a number of deputies proposed adopting the draft law without discussion, fearing that emotional speeches by deputies from the extreme left-wing and extreme right-wing factions could spark off a new outburst of passions on the peninsula. But the majority of deputies did not agree to silent adoption of the act.

The exchange of opinions lasted more than three hours. The draft law prepared by delegations of the Ukrainian and Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviets consists of 15 articles, which were discussed in detail and received the official support of the majority of the deputies of the Crimean parliament. I will cite several of the fundamental provisions enshrined in these articles. First, regarding the republic's status—"The Republic of Crimea is a component part of Ukraine and autonomously resolves questions placed in its jurisdiction." And there are quite a few such questions: There is the adoption and interpretation of its own laws, "participation in the formulation and implementation of Ukraine's domestic and foreign political activity in questions which affect the interests of the Republic of Crimea," the activity of local organs of power, and the formation of judicial organs. The Republic of Crimea exercises parliamentary control over the activity of the local security service. The appointment of the Crimean prosecutor is carried out by agreement with the Crimean Supreme Soviet... In short, the republic's range of rights is impressive.

Nevertheless, there were polemics. These arose over four additions originating from Ukrainian Supreme Soviet commissions. In particular, a quarrel broke out over whether to call the Republic of Crimea a "component part of Ukraine" or an "autonomous part of Ukraine."

Passions in the hall grew noticeably heated when N. Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet, appealing to the hall, said that an adviser to the Ukrainian president had ventured to state on Crimean television that if, with the adoption of the law on the demarcation of powers, the Crimean parliament does not cancel the holding of yet another referendum, the Ukrainian head of state could dissolve the Crimean parliament and establish the presidential form of rule there. This remark met with the immediate riposte from the hall that the chairman of the Crimean parliament should have displayed his principled attitude when Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy visited the peninsula and made anti-Ukrainian statements.

To prevent the deputies' polemic from turning into a squabble, a recess was announced. L. Kravchuk held consultations with deputies from various factions, and an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was held.

The deputies adopted his proposal by a constitutional majority. They ratified the proposed draft law on the demarcation of powers between Ukraine and the Crimea at the first reading, and instructed that a document taking account of all the proposals and remarks made by the deputies during the sitting of the session be presented to them for examination next time.

Supporters, Opponents of Referendum Cited

MK2204113892 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 92 p 1

[Aleksandr Pilat report under "Crimea" rubric: "Crimean Referendum: 'For' and 'Against'"]

[Text] The arguments of the leaders of the "Crimea" Republican Movement [CRM] in favor of the idea of holding a referendum on Crimean independence amount to the following: If Ukraine was part of the Union, then there would be no question of Crimea's withdrawal from it. But, in acknowledging Ukraine to be a sovereign state, the CRM reserves for Crimea the right to autonomously decide for itself the issues of its own state status and, having proclaimed itself to be independent, to affiliate itself to Russia. Here the CRM is clearly disregarding the danger of the emergence in the wake of a referendum of

interethnic conflicts and the destabilization of the situation on the peninsula. Nor are the demands of the Crimean Tatar people concerning the establishment of national-territorial autonomy being taken into consideration.

The leaders of the CRM are convinced that this is Russian land and that it must belong to Russia.

The position of the CRM is backed by the Russian Society of Crimea, which is a collective member of this movement.

Mustafa Dzhemilev, chairman of the Crimean Tatar people's majlis, states in turn that they are opposed to any revision of borders, including Russia's borders with Ukraine. "We respect and value the peoples of Ukraine, Russia, and the other independent republics of the former USSR," Dzhemilev says, "but we are seeking the restoration of my people's national-territorial autonomy as part of Ukraine. The Crimean Tatars are opposed to a referendum. As a matter of fact, this will be the fourth referendum in the Crimea in the last 18 months. The Crimean Tatars have participated in only one—that of 1 December 1991, when Ukraine asserted its independence. We regard all the others, including the current one, as illegal and unlawful."

Yuriy Komov, chairman of the "Democratic Crimea" parliamentary faction of the Crimean Republic's Supreme Soviet, believes: "Three separate questions must be submitted for the referendum—'Do you support an independent Crimea?'; 'Do you advocate a Crimea as part of Ukraine?'; 'Do you advocate a Crimea as part of Russia?' The people must know exactly what they are voting for."

The chairman of Rukh's Crimean territorial organization, Valentin Tambovtsev, states that there can be absolutely no question of Crimea's independence inasmuch as it is completely linked to Ukraine: "...There exist state agreements between Ukraine and Russia on the immutability of borders. This is documented, and whatever certain high-level Russian politicians try to agitate Crimea cannot be taken into account. We have pluralism, and anybody can express their own opinion, but here it is necessary to heed the opinion of the Crimean Tatar people, and they are against a referendum."

Nikolay Gubenko, chairman of an action group to establish a Crimean human rights committee, says that it is unnecessary to raise the question of Crimea's status before the economic and political stabilization of the situation: "The main issue is that of power. I demand the dissolution of the Crimea's venal Supreme Soviet and the holding of new elections."

Viktor Pantyukhin, cochairman of the "Civic Forum of Crimea" movement, believes that the impending referendum contradicts the Crimean Supreme Soviet's very law itself "On a Referendum": "We, as an autonomous republic, have the right to hold a referendum only on our internal problems, but we cannot resolve territorial disputes in this way. On the given question international law makes provision for a plebiscite; however, it is first of all necessary to adopt a law on a plebiscite. The organization of such a procedure requires the consent of Ukraine and Russia, the withdrawal of all troops from Crimean territory, and the return of the deported peoples. From the standpoint of international law the results of the referendum which the CRM wishes to impose on the peninsula's inhabitants will have no significance at all irrespective of how the voters cast their vote."

Crimean Russians Meet, Present Demands

AU2704201292 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] A constituent meeting on the convocation of an all-Crimean congress of the Russian-speaking population was held in Simferopol. The Russian Society of the Crimea initiated the congress.

The participants called upon the people of the peninsula to take an active part in the referendum on Crimean independence. They adopted an appeal to the Ukraine and Russia presidents insisting that the Black Sea Fleet be maintained within the Commonwealth of Independent States. Demands were advanced to subordinate Sevastopol to the Republic of Crimea.

Some Russian Society representatives called upon participants in the meeting to create people's defense troops in the Crimea in order to be able, if necessary, to defend against Ukraine.

Rukh's Moscow Branch 'Wholly Pointless'

PM2704153592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[IMA-PRESS report: "Moscow Rukh Not Needed By Ukraine"]

[Text] The Kiev branch of Rukh has denied the Moscow branch permission to exist.

The statement says that Rukh is a Ukrainian organization and its leadership views activity outside Ukrainian territory as wholly pointless.

Rukh Paper's Anti-Russian Coverage Noted

PM2704101592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Apr 92 p 7

[Boris Sverdlov report under the "Press" rubric: "They Are Burying... Russia"]

[Text] Kiev—Rukh leaders' policy of totally severing relations with Russia and the CIS and immediately reinforcing their own borders is mirrored in their main publication—NARODNA GAZETA. The editorial office journalists are obviously allergic to their eastern neighbor. Every edition carries a flood of accusations

and recriminations: about imperial behavior and the servitude inflicted on Ukraine for the last 1,000 years. They say that even now the sovereign state has no rest from interference in its domestic affairs. But even that was not quite enough for the editorial office.

The latest edition carries a photograph of a funeral procession. Several guys are carrying a coffin on their shoulders and in front of them there is a banner saying "Goodbye, Unwashed Russia." This may all seem trivial, but this "masterpiece" in the newspaper puzzled most readers, to put it mildly.

Christian Democrats Join Rukh, Issue Statement

AU2704185692 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] The Odessa Oblast organization of the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party will become an associated member of the Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka]. This decision was adopted at a recent meeting of the organization.

The organization will also promote the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and its religious communities in the southern region.

The meeting adopted a statement of protest against the so-called celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Odessa by Catherine II. This is a provocative anti-Ukrainian action. The Ukrainian city of Odessa is, in fact, almost 600 years old, stresses the statement.

Party Concerned for Republic's Sovereignty

LD2504174692 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] The first all-Ukrainian conference of the Democratic Party of Ukraine considered a number of questions to do with sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state, economic policy, the situation in Crimea, and attitude to the CIS. Corresponding resolutions were taken on the problems that had been discussed.

Yuriy Badyo, head of the party, when asked whether there actually exists a serious threat to sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, replied: The events of the last months are evidence to it. Anti-Ukrainian forces are stirring up in Ukraine and outside it which are carrying out unbridled demagogic propaganda aimed at provoking mistrust in the policy of the independent state and frightening the population with the prospects of interethnic conflicts, ruin, and hunger.

The conference of the Democratic Party demands that the Ukrainian parliament issue a resolution dissolving the Supreme Soviet of Crimea as illegal and the one that exceeds its authorities having arbitrarily transferred itself from an oblast soviet to a Supreme Soviet, neglects the laws of the Ukrainian state and in effect provokes interethnic conflicts.

Official Specifies Terms for Buying Gold

AU2404155792 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 16 Apr 92 p 1

[Interview with Mykola Fedorovych Chernyuk, director of the State Treasury, by Volodymyr Oliynyk: "Once Again on Prices of Gold"]

[Text] **Our editorial board has recently received quite a number of letters in which our readers ask about conditions for purchasing gold and precious metals and stones by the state. We have turned to Mykola Fedorovych Chernyuk, director of the State Treasury, which is a part of Ukraine's National Bank, for explanation.**

[Chernyuk] Indeed, in accordance with Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 60-R of 2 February 1992, prices have been set at which gold and other precious metals and scrap from them and precious stones and jewelry can be bought from the population. For example, one gram of 583-standard gold costs 581 rubles [R]. I want to ask our esteemed vendors not to confuse the price of one gram of gold articles with the price of one gram of chemically pure gold. It is precisely one gram of chemically pure gold that costs R1,000.

All precious metals and jewelry, scrap, diamonds, and precious stones are accepted, at unified prices, without any limitations by buying-up stations of "Ukryuvelirtorg" throughout the territory of Ukraine.

Regarding diamonds, as far back as on 2 December 1991, Ukraine's Supreme Council Presidium adopted Resolution No. 1886 that provided for buying up this precious stone from the population at negotiable prices. The price of one carat of diamond is determined by the vendor, and then the final price is set as a result of an agreement between the sides.

Mykola Fedorovych pointed out: Despite the fact that the State Treasury is still in the state of being organized, the gold reserves of independent Ukraine have already started piling up. We ask our readers' pardon for not yet being able to state how much precious metals we have in our treasury. For the time being, it is a state secret. However, we know that several small enterprises, at which gold waste and precious scrap are reprocessed, have started functioning in Ukraine.

Byelarus

Cabinet Formulates Monetary, Investment Reforms

OW2704194292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Byelarusian cabinet is going to create a "fundamentally new economy ensuring to the country's full sovereignty", the Presidium of the Byelarusian Cabinet said late last week. The Presidium considered a concept of ending the crisis.

IF's [INTERFAX] reporter Vyacheslav Zenkovich reports the government believes the economy must be restructured to end dependence on monopolistic suppliers in other former Soviet republics. Speakers at the Presidium's session said the trend towards establishing world prices, something Russia is going to achieve, would increase the risk of unfavorable balance in Byelarus's trade with other CIS member-states. This would push tip the foreign debt and budget deficit, curtail investment programs and upset the standard of living.

Cabinet members believe the need to independently finance Chernobyl relief programs, defence programs and the conversion of defence industries makes the situation still worse.

Government officials say the main ideas of a new concept of economic reforms have been studied and approved by IMF experts.

The government's plan for restructuring the economy will place the emphasis on research intensive technologies, flax production, live-stock farming and energy and materials saving industries. Great attention will be paid to the re-tooling of defence industries, reasonable splitting of a number of industries and other measures to promote competition.

Byelarusian government members "are aware of the need for making preparations for the introduction of a Byelarusian currency. At the same time, they are unanimous it would be impossible to create an independent monetary, credit and financial system within the framework of one ruble zone at a time when the center of emission is in Russia. Byelarusian government members believe that a fundamental economic reform in combination with privatization and measures to improve taxation and budget policies will promote the emergence of an independent monetary unit.

In the first place the government is going to help those branches of the economy, which spell the quickest return-farming, food industries and consumer goods production. The government is going to remove barriers blocking Byelarusian industrialists' cooperation with foreign partners and obstacles in the way of foreign investors, promote non-governmental joint ventures and form a Byelarusian fund of barter transactions and commerce through government orders.

It was also decided to form a land bank to credit private farms. Foreign firms will be allowed to take land on lease to prospect for, extract and process mineral deposits.

State Secretary Cited on Russian Economic Policy

PM2504110392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 92 p1

[Unidentified correspondent report on interview with Byelarusian State Secretary for CIS Affairs Vladimir Zalomay in Minsk, date not given, followed by correspondent Oleg Stepanenko commentary, under the general heading: "Economic Diktat More Terrible Than Ambition"]

[Text] Insane prices, impoverishment, declining output, and rising unemployment—the whole array of "blessings" resulting from economic reform, the collapse of the USSR, and the severing of economic ties between its former republics—are beginning to gain a stranglehold on Byelarus. In an attempt to avert catastrophe, its government is taking increasingly vigorous action through bodies set up within the Commonwealth. Which problems does it seek to resolve first and foremost? Your PRAVDA correspondent asked Byelarusian State Secretary for CIS Affairs Vladimir Zalomay to talk about this.

"The main problem, of course, is to stabilize the economy," he said. "If we try to go it alone, we will never extricate it from the impasse into which it has been driven. All the republics depend on one another—and particularly on Russia with its vast potential, mainly in the form of raw materials. Consequently, the Byelarusian Government tries to make maximum use of CIS structures. A permanent working group of specialists responsible for regulating pricing, taxation, and credit and finance policy within the CIS economic space is currently in session. The decision to set up this group was taken by the heads of the CIS governments.

"What worries Byelarusian representatives most of all? Russia's plans to raise energy prices. This will have an avalanche-like effect and make all goods more expensive.

"Scientists at the Byelarusian Academy of Sciences, for example, estimate that the cost of one kilogram of meat in Byelarus will rise to 200-250 rubles [R] and the subsistence minimum to R3-5,000 per month. I think this will be a second Chernobyl for the republic—an economic Chernobyl. Russia will not benefit either.

"We supply Russia with agricultural products and a number of goods, from refrigerators to the largest models produced by the Minsk Truck Plant. All this will become much more expensive. That is why we are in favor of economic and price regulation which takes account of all circumstances and social factors. However, the Russian leadership only wants to follow its own scenario. For example, it postponed price liberalization for a short

time, but then freed prices in January, thereby drawing all the CIS countries into the process.

"Nevertheless, the CIS has produced some results as a union of states. It has managed to agree to delay action to raise energy prices. I recently had a meeting with several leading Russian officials. They too are beginning to think that freeing prices all round would have unpredictable consequences...."

[Stepanenko] In the present difficult situation the republic's officials are cautious when they talk to representatives of the press. Many of those with whom you speak are very frank: They have no intention of discussing contradictions between CIS countries for the benefit of the press. It would only increase discord with Russia—then no agreement could be reached at all. That would be a disaster.

But, increasingly often, people here are saying that "Yeltsin's economic diktat" is more dangerous than the imperial ambitions of the former center. A growing number of specialists are beginning to realise that Byelarus has become a hostage to the reforms of the Russian leadership. It is creating a free market which has long been outmoded in the civilized world. During several years of peace in the twenties, the free market devastated the economy of the United States and Western countries on a scale of catastrophe of which we have never even dreamed. In creating a market system, Russia is dismantling systematic regulation, to which the West switched in the thirties.

Byelarus is uneasily watching Russia slide into the abyss of market anarchy. It is watching and realizes that certain Western forces, among which the IMF holds a special place, are behind the active encouragement of Russian reforms. The majority of CIS countries are opposed to steep rises in energy prices, which would lead to the total collapse of the economy. The IMF, on the other hand, is demanding that Russia raise energy prices to world levels as soon as possible.

Who will win? The CIS or the IMF? Is the Russian leadership only one step away from the abyss? Or will it finally heed the voice of reason?

Parliament Decides To Join IMF, World Bank

LD2504143792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] The Byelarus parliament decided on the republic's membership in the IMF and the World Bank. It is noted in the decision that membership of these organizations will permit the receipt of credits in the form of purchasing foreign currency for the national one within the limits of the appropriate quota. The Byelarus Government gains the right to make decisions, together with the republican national bank, on getting credits and involving other means.

Employers Ordered To Deposit Wages Into Banks

LD2504035992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2130 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] The Byelarusian Government has made another attempt to cut back cash circulation and emission. The Republic's Council of Ministers has ordered all enterprises, organizations, and institutions to pay their employees' wages into accounts in savings and other banks when the payout due is five times the minimum wage, which is 550 rubles. Average monthly wage payouts of less than five times the minimum may be transferred into accounts only with the employee's personal consent.

Trade, Economic Program Agreed With Russia

LD2704103192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] Representatives of the Byelarusian Scientific and Industrial Association and the Union of Russian Businessmen and Industrial Managers meeting in Minsk, capital of Byelarus, have approved a joint program for the development of trade and economic cooperation. One of the program's most significant clauses concerns the participation of both sides in regulating supplies for metallurgical, machine building, metalworking, power engineering and oil refining branches. The program stipulates mutual assistance in the manufacture of consumer goods and the creation of joint ventures.

Supreme Soviet Approves Education Law Amendment

LD2404033592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] The Republic's Supreme Soviet has decided to approve an amendment to the education law. An average wage for Byelarusia's secondary school teachers will be set from 1 September 1992 and will be no less than the average wage for blue and white collar industrial workers. About 2 billion rubles of the state budget will be allocated for this purpose, BELTA-TASS reports.

Moldova

No International Help Wanted To Settle Conflict

AU2304194192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/4/1992—Moldova will not appeal, for the time being, to the help of international organizations—C.S.C.E. and the UN Security Council included—for the settlement of the conflict in the Dniester region, President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur stated on the reception of the credentials of Canada's ambassador to Romania, Murray Fairweather, who will also be Canada's ambassador to Moldova.

In President Snegur's opinion the only acceptable way to settle the crisis in eastern Moldova remains the parliamentary way.

Moldova's President thanked Canada's Government for the support granted to his country, noticing that the two states start relations of fruitful collaboration in various domains.

The Canadian ambassador appreciated that the difficulties confronting Moldova nowadays could be surmounted, that all the problems should be peacefully settled in the conditions of observing human rights and the rights of the national minorities, MOLDOVA-PRES agency informs.

Calls for Unification With Romania 'Provocations'

OW2404213592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 24 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] People are tired of the war, coffins and fearing the future. Whenever a chance to stop the bloodshed appears, provocations and irresponsible statements immediately follow leading to the continuation of the conflict. That was the comment of President Mircea Snegur on the recent statements of the chairman of the parliament Alexandru Mosanu in Ankara and on local radio at a meeting with representatives of the Democratic Agricultural Party [DAP].

The parliamentary leader said he is an advocate of unification with Romania that will happen sooner or later. At the meeting with the president DAP members described Mr. Mosanu's statements as a violation of the acting constitution and an encroachment on the statehood of Moldova.

"Those who permit themselves such claims—the president remarked—should be exposed, so that the people would know the truth bitter as it might be, otherwise it will be impossible for a long time to stop the war and change the situation for the better."

The president agreed with the opinion of DAP members that it is necessary to speed up the adoption of a new constitution and supported the idea of a referendum on the issue.

"This would be a notable step toward civic accord and against the division of the country", he said.

It was claimed at the meeting that the constitution and referendum will be supported by the majority of the population on the left bank of the Dniester. IF [INTERFAX] note: The meeting was one in a series of consultations with political parties and public movements. Observers in Chisinau say that the president gets the greatest support of his political, social and economic strategies from the DAP that unites many former Communist Party officials and cooperative and state farm leaders.

Situation in Dniester 'Remains Complex'

LD2704205592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Report by correspondent S. Milyanchikov, from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The previous talks reached dead end. As before, each of the sides is accusing its partners of disrupting the talks. The issue of reinstating the constitutional bodies of power of Moldova, including police branches, in the Dniester region caused most disagreements. Tiraspol rejected this proposal and explained that it was the conflict between militia and police in Dubossary that had marked the beginning of the two-month confrontation.

At the same time Chisinau rejected proposals of the Left Bank regarding the withdrawal of troops from Dubossary rayon, where the Moldovan police occupies two major bridgeheads on the left bank. As has become known, the Moldovan authorities also rejected the participation of the 14th Army, which is subordinate to Russia, in the buffer zone, and explain this by the fact that servicemen's families live on the left bank.

So the situation in the Dniester region still remains complex, and despite the Easter holidays and a temporary truce both sides are on full combat alert. [video shows people in trenches, military equipment and soldiers of the 14th Army]

Armed Exchanges Resume in Dubossary After Easter

LD2804092292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0858 GMT 28 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, April 28 ITAR-TASS—Exchange of fire between the Moldovan police and armed units of the Dniester guards resumed in the area of the Moldovan city of Dubossary after a two-day respite for the Easter.

The press centre of the Moldovan Interior Ministry reports that the ceasifire agreement was violated by guards twice in the past day. The police post near Vadul-Lyi Vode populated locality was raided in the night. Mortar fire was opened on police positions near Pogrebya village. There are no reports about casualties as yet. A boy hit a mine in the area of Dorotskoe village.

The press centre of the Dniester region accused Moldovan police of violating the ceasefire. According to information from Tiraspol, fire was opened on guards tent camp in the area of Ustie village. During the checking of posts of Dubossary area a Cossack was shot dead by a sniper. Guards positions in the area of Cosnita came under fire.

ITAR-TASS learned that over the past two days the sides made efforts to ease tension in confrontation areas. But the negotiations conducted by local authorities have yielded no tangible results.

Moldova Truce, Border Security Viewed

PM2804101992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Apr 92 p 1

[Report by correspondent Major A. Stasovskiy: "While Moldova Is Concerned for Eastern Border, It Seems the Western Border Has Completely Collapsed"]

[Text] The bilateral conciliation commissions which have already been created and are being created in the Dniester region for the withdrawal and disarmament of the conflicting armed formations seem to be turning into a barrier which has good chances of settling the armed confrontation.

Konstantin Oborok, Moldovan first deputy prime minister, noted on this subject in a talk with an RIA correspondent that the sides are satisfied with the process of the regulation of the situation in Bendery, where life is returning to normal. A decision has been made to act in a similar way in other "hot spots" of the Dniester region. Konstantin Oborok voiced the hope that in a few days, with the aid of observers peace will be established in Dubossary, Kochiyery, and other places. In the opinion of the Moldovan first deputy premier, parliament is the only acceptable place to resolve vexed issues. He urged the deputies from the Dniester region to return to Moldova's supreme legislative organ.

Meanwhile a central commission to monitor the ceasefire all along the fighting line has started to operate in Dorotskoye village, Dubossarskiy Rayon. The commission is organizing approximately 20 observation points in the region of the conflict.

The resolute actions of the commission, formed at the initiative of the Moldovan Government and members of the joint commission to implement the decisions of the recent conference of foreign ministers of Moldova, Russia, Romania, and Ukraine are transferring to a practical plane everything about which the sides managed to agree.

Nonetheless, the sides still have no unity in assessing the progress of the truce. The government of the Dniester Moldavian Republic and the inhabitants of the Left Bank see it as more fragile. Hence the abidingly alarming reports from the press center of the Dniester Moldavian Republic government announcing that, for instance, outbreaks of shooting, albeit very brief, are continuing in the region of Dubossary, that women are taking turns as guards and are prepared to perform this duty until they are completely confident that the armed conflict has ended.

Immediately after the talk at the Dniester Moldavian Republic government press center, your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent got in touch with Dmitriy Korletyanu, chief of the Moldovan Internal Affairs Ministry Public Liaison Administration. He voiced the certainty that the talk processes will achieve their aim and announced that he knows nothing about shooting near Dubossary.

But perhaps the greatest disquiet today in the region of the conflict and in Moldova as a whole is experienced by the servicemen. It has become known from a trustworthy source that because of the shortage of officer cadres in the embryonic Moldovan Army, it has been decided to instruct a military medical commission to check all military commissariat officers. All those whose state of health would make them suitable for the line units will be transferred from the military commissariats. It is planned to fill their posts with officers currently in the reserve after having been released recently from the army. To this end a campaign has been mounted for reserve officers to adopt Moldovan citizenship. Our source in Moldova sees the next step after that to be the compulsory taking of a Moldovan oath of allegiance by the "reservists."

Moldova's border with Romania has also become unquiet. A group of CIS border troop officers has sent an open letter to President Mircea Snegur saying that the republic's western border is collapsing before their eyes. Many highly qualified officers and ensigns are transferring to service in other CIS states. No one is in charge of the activity of the border posts and military discipline has declined drastically.

Unless urgent and resolute measures are taken, the letter says, economic chaos will overwhelm the republic. Smuggling and drug running will become massive and criminal groups will pour across the border. You form the impression, the border guards believe, that no one needs the border, or that this situation on the border is very much to someone's advantage.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Says Republic 'Temporarily' Nuclear

LD2804102992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Kazakhstan has asked the United States to regard it temporarily as a nuclear state that has embarked upon the road of disarmament. This was stated by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the republic's president, in an interview with the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, an influential American newspaper. He also said he is prepared to conclude an agreement on a strategic alliance with the United States during his first official visit to Washington as the head of state in the middle of May.

Reports of Zirconium Sales to Iran 'Refuted'

LD2804102292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Kazakhstan does not produce, buy, or sell zirconium, Marat Vetembayev, the republic's deputy minister of industry told a RIA correspondent. He refuted reports, circulated in the foreign press, on alleged deliveries from Kazakhstan to Iran of metallic zirconium, which can be used in producing nuclear weapons.

Nazarbeyev Encourages South Korean Investment

OW2704194392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbeyev told chairman of the Samsung board that Kazakhstan has a good investment climate for the creation of joint ventures with foreign companies. IF's [INTERFAX] Mikhail Kubekov said that the head of the country had assured the South Korean visitor that South Korea would not regret its investments in the republic.

Nazarbeyev emphasized that the republic has "quite extensive" export potential, first of all as regards the export of ores and mineral resources.

The Seoul businessman said in turn that the Korean companies are ready to give Kazakhstan advanced technologies which it needs. This, said Samsung, will help Kazakhstan quickly launch the facilities it needs.

IF's note: Kazakhstan has good positive experience of cooperation with Samsung as the South Korean companies participated in the development of a joint project for the Ust-Kamenogorsk lead and zinc producer. It is known that the Samsung, a maker of high-tech and consumer electronics, is largely interested in the shipment of quality metals.

Russia Cooperates in Non-Ferrous Metallurgy

OW2404192692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1814 GMT 24 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In keeping with understandings reached at the Moscow meeting last month between President Nazarbayev and President Yeltsin and talks between government delegations of the two countries in Uralsk experts and top managers from the non-ferrous metallurgy of Kazakhstan and Russia are holding a working conference in Jezkazgan, Central Kazakhstan.

The Kazakh delegation is led by Deputy Prime-Minister Oleg Soskovets.

Working groups formed last night formed a package of documents, specifically a program of cooperation in non-ferrous metallurgy which was approved by the conference today. The conference is attended by 30 company managers from Russia and 36 of their counterparts from Kazakhstan.

The program stresses the need for further cooperation and joint work between the companies and agencies in charge as well as for deepening ties in non-ferrous metallurgy.

The main idea of the document is to invite CIS countries to finance and carry out long-term programs of extraction and production of non-ferrous and other metals through utilizing the deposits of these metals in Russia and Kazakhstan. The purpose is to guarantee CIS countries a stable supply of ready non-ferrous metals to satisfy the needs of their industries.

The program names several aspects of cooperation:

1. The expansion of the production capacity.

2. The Recycled Lead project aimed at guaranteeing the stable production of lead accumulators.

3. The Copper project to guarantee copper supplies by Kazakh facilities to Russian non-ferrous metal plants and the return of rolled copper to Kazakhstan.

4. The Titanium and Manganese project aimed at keeping up traditional supplies of raw materials and changeable vacuum equipment to Ust-Kamenogorsk and Berezniki titanium-manganese plants and Verkhne-Saldinsky production amalgamation.

5. The Rare Metals project aimed at developing a comprehensive technology that would increase the efficiency of the utilization of rare metals from ore to manufactured goods in which they are used.

The two sides agreed on regular supplies of raw materials to branches of the Russian Tverdosplav concern and manufactured goods to companies in Kazakhstan and Russia.

Coal Reserves Discovered on Oblast Borders

LD2604182892 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Summary] Work has started on developing the Yubileynyy coal deposit, which is located on the border of Pavlodar and Semipalatinsk oblasts.

About 10 million cubic meters of rock have been moved to reveal high-grade coal seams, a significant proportion of which can be used to produce coke, thereby relieving Kazakhstan of its reliance on deliveries from Kuzbass. This year 1 million tonnes of fuel will be delivered. The reserves of the deposit are put at 2 billion tonnes.

Methane Gas Discovered on Semipalatinsk Site

LD2704091692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0721 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Ganzha]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 27 TASS—Methane gas has been discovered on the territory of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground. A fiery column suddenly appeared in the Steppes of Abai district. Studies have shown that the gas is free of radioactive elements. Hence, its use in the national economy will not pose any radioactive hazards.

Specialists explain in the following way the appearance of this valuable fuel in places where its presence was categorically ruled out by prior geological studies: A lignite deposit was discovered there several decades ago. Possibly, one of its coal seams was ignited by an underground nuclear blast and this led to underground gasification.

Last year specialists watched methane outbursts in three places. At that time the local administration hastened to extinguish them. Today, looking forward to the liberalisation of prices on power carriers, it was decided not to miss the rare chance and to make proper use of the methane. Plans are now afoot to drill several boreholes next to the gas outburst in order to draw on this unique "underground gasification plant".

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev: CIS 'Fragile' But 'Necessary'

OW2804105992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan feels that the Commonwealth of Independent States is objectively necessary to his country, but remains quite fragile. He made the statement at a Tuesday [28 April] meeting with the vice-president of the EC Commission Frans Andriessen. He stressed that CIS countries have not managed to build a solid economic foundation yet.

He said that the Bishkek summit of Central Asian countries and Kazakhstan last week confirmed the determination of the participating states to strengthen the CIS. President Akayev said that the leaders of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan realize that the democratization of life depends on the effectiveness of economic reforms. At the same time the success of economic restructuring in the Commonwealth will depend on the effectiveness of EC aid.

Government Completes Reform of State Power

OW2704194892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev said at a Bishkek meeting wlth local authorities and government and law enforcers that the reform of state power in the republic that had been going for a year is fully completed. The result is a unified system of executive authorities based on the principle of division of powers nationwide and on the municipal level.

IF's [INTERFAX] Bermet Malikova reports that Akayev said that he believed the president, government and the head of the local administration "were one team that must work out their tenure." He said that before the introduction of the institution of akims, heads of the local administration, executive authorities were "patently weak", "and the adminstrative apparatus is overblown and tending to grow." Akayev emphasized the need to stop this process.

The president spoke out in favor of concentration of government and local administration efforts on a number of key directions of domestic politics, including first of all agrarian reform, the elimination of unproductive costs in the economy, the stabilization of consumer market, denationalization and privatization and the fight against corruption and law-braking and the strengthening of safety net.

Akayev emphasized that since the agrarian reform is the key issue now, because "unless the republic is well-nourished, all other measures will fail too." [sentence as received] The agrarian policy is to made the republic self-sufficient for food and less dependent on other states. First of all this is true of the supplies of grain, cooking oil, sugar and milk products. To this end, even before this year is out, it is necessary to increase the area under oil cultures, restart growing sugar beets, rebuilt sugar factories and take immediate measures to increase the cattle population.

The president is convinced that unless the property issue in the countryside has been resolved, it is impossible to carry out the agricultural program. But he was opposed to giving the axe to profit-making collective and state farms which, he believes, will continue playing a leading role, in particular in the field that are still the state

monopoy - sheep-growing, tobacco-growing, pedigree animal growing, and seed growing. The objective of the reform is "to find a sensible balance between the state and private sectors and to launch a competition mechanism."

Akayev said that a project of a law on the priority social development of the countryside and agroindustrial complex was being prepared, to be discussed at The May session of the Supreme Soviet.

The formation of an efficient property structure remains an important element of the reforms, said the president. However, this problem is being overlooked by the local administrations. Akayev spoke out in favor of a 100 percent commercialization of trade enterprises, public catering and services. The denationalization of big enterprises should be through the creation of holding stock companies. Priority in denationalization should be given to agriculture, first of all the processing and storage of produce.

Addressing the fight against crime, which rose 1.5-fold during the first three months of 1992, the president emphasized the rise in corruption. According to him, the growing together of dealers with the state and power structures, on the one hand, and foreign capital on the other threatens the appearance of a "shadow power."

IF's note: According to Akayev, sociologists studies [as received] the attitude of the republic residents to corruption, 28 percent of the respondents are convinced that nothing can be done in Kyrgyzstan without bribery, 16.5 percent said that they had "to bribe bureaucrats always", 53 percent said that they give bribes to officials "often" and 8.5 percent, "sometimes," the biggest bribes are given and taken for the extension of credits, loans, licenses, the lease of land plots, premises and the privatization of state property. The most corrupted spheres are, according to 56 percent of those polled, trade, 55 percent, the police, 54 percent, universities, 38 percent, procurator's office, 37 percent, banks, and 36 percent tax inspection.

According to Akayev, the crime fight is meant to improve the economic situation in the republic and the social climate.

The president said that it is required to raise wages for judges, investigators, law enforcers and to set up an extrabudgetary fund from 30-percent deductions from seized amounts and property of the persons who had committed economic crime. Akayev spoke in favor of property returns for senior officials. A body of measures in the fight against bribery has always been laid down in the presidential decree on the fight against corruption.

Tajikistan

'Open Confrontation' at Rallies Continues

LD2704194992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] As we have already reported, participants have reached open confrontation at the rallies attended by many thousands of people on the two central squares in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. The KHOVAR agency reports that opposition leaders, speaking at a news conference on Monday [27 April], accused the republic's government of sharply exacerbating the situation in Tajikistan, and above all in Dushanbe.

Speaking at the news conference, leaders of the opposition parties and movements of Tajikistan emphasized once again that they intend to fight for democratic transformations in the republic, but through peaceful political means.

Muslim Leader Cited

LD2704194192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By HOVAR correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe April 27 TASS—Muslim leader Khodzha Akbar Turadzhonzoda believes Tajikistan's Government is whipping up tensions in the republic.

Speaking at a press conference today Turadzhonzoda blasted Tajik leaders, saying that after signing a deal with the opposition they began "rallying people of certain regions, including work collectives at several industrial plants in the Tajik capital," against the opposition.

According to earlier reports from Dushanbe opposition supporters are continuing a several-day long rally in Shakhidon square, protesting against the appointment of former Parliament speaker Safarali Kenjayev to the post of Chairman of the Committee for National Security.

Kenjayev resigned last week, bowing to opposition demands.

In the mean time, government supporters gathered in Ozodi Square are demanding the convening of an emergency parliamentary session to repeal "unconstitutional decisions, passed by the parliament under pressure from the opposition". Protesters also blasted Turadzhonzoda, accusing him of double standards and failure to represent the interest of the Tajik people.

In conditions when the government has provoked an alternative rally in Ozodi Square, the opposition leaders reserve the right to "lead demonstrators in Shakhidon", according to Turadzhonzoda.

Turadzhonzoda and opposition leaders, speaking at the press conference, stressed their resolve "to fight for democratic reforms in the republic by peaceful political means".

Despite a call by the republican leadership on warring sides to reach agreement, tensions on both squares, where the rallies are held, have reached their peak with thousands of Dushanbe residents drawn in the conflict.

Police 'To Serve as Buffer'

OW2704185192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the opposition in Tajikistan have told a news conference in Dushanbe that any attempts to use force against demonstrators would push tension up all over the republic. As a result, Tajikistan would split into princedoms.

The deputy chairman of the Islamic Revival Party, Davlat Usmon has said that if confrontation triggers war, "the current government of Tajikistan will be wiped out".

The authorities and opposition leaders came to terms last week. The authorities made concessions: the speaker of parliament Safarali Kenjayev resigned; so did the leader of the state company for television and radio broadcasting; and a number of laws the opposition described as "undemocratic" were lifted.

At the news conference on Monday [27 April] the Muslim leader of Tajikistan Khodzha Akbar Turadzhonzoda dismissed accusations of failing to honor that agreement. They said that the opposition rally in Shakhidon square had resumed and was going on spontaneously. The demonstrators are protesting against actions by supporters of the current government and parliament, who have failed to disband their alternative rally in Ozodi square in defiance of the agreement between the authorities and the opposition.

As both rallies go on, tension in the city has remained. Both rallies are guarded by their own security forces. There are two dozen buses with special police in Rudaki avenue ready to serve as a buffer between the rival factions.

Kenjayev Supporters' Demands Detailed

LD2704213192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1916 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Dushanbe—15,000 people rally at the Shakhidon Square and 20,000 people at the Ozodi Square.

Activists supporting chairman of the National Security Committee, former Chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Safarali Kenjayev and Kulyab Qazi-Mullah (religious leader) Khaydar Sharifzoda gather at the Ozodi Square. They have claimed an ultimatum that opposition activists should clear the Shakhidon square otherwise promising to block the square and empty it by themselves. Both parties mobilize more supporters forming special units. Rallies at the Ozodi Square demand to kill Kozikalon Khodzha Akbar Turadzhonzoda.

According to some information, Tajikistan president Rakhman Nabiyev has not been home for two days. The opposition is concerned by the possible replacement or house arrest of the president. They are worried that Safarali Kenjayev might form an analogy of the state committee for the state of emergency in Tajikistan. Pro-Communist slogans sound at the Ozodi Square where pictures of Lenin and Gorbachev appear as well as red banners. The rallies demand to endorse an amendment to the law on public holidays and announce May 1 a public holiday of Tajikistan working people.

On April 27 leaders of the republican Trade Unions Committee at the Ozodi Square led employees of Dushanbe enterprises to the rally. On April 27 participants of the Ozodi Square action spelled out a number of demands including the following:

—Immediately convene the session of the Supreme Soviet

—Cancel the resolution on the resignation of Safarali Kenjayev, as well as resolutions and laws adopted as a result of rallies' pressing

—Expel members of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium elected at the 13th session

—Resignation of Kozikalon Khodzha Akbar Turadzhonzoda

—Cancel the resignation of the state TV and radio committee Atakhon Sifullayev

—Leave unnoticed the appeal of central Asian Mufti (religious leader) Maveronnakhr and the Republican Qazi concerning the suspension of the clergyman diploma of the president's adviser on religion Sadriddin Saidnuriddinzoda

—Endorse the laws on procurator's office, police and national security committee

—Authorize the procurator's office to investigate the case of taking hostage a number of deputies

—Authorize the Ministry of Justice to consider the issue of law violations by the Islamic rebirth party over the recent several months and study the possibility of outlawing this party

—Amend the constitution introducing public open elections of chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Commenting on the last demand opposers of Safarali Kenjayev assumed that it was nothing but a disguised attempt to hold another presidential elections and completely deprive President Rakhman Nabiyev of the public support proof.

Turkmenistan

Afghan Servicemen, Families Flee to Republic

PM2704110992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 92 p 1

[A. Khokhlov report: "Now They Are Fleeing to Our Country"]

[Text] Captain V. Sokirko, a staffer from the CIS Border Troops Press Center, has announced that roughly 200 people crossed the Turkmen-Afghan border 20 April in the Takhta-Bazarskiy border detachment's sector. Although many of them were armed, our border guards did not open fire: Their counterparts were favoring them with a "visit." Afghan border brigade officers and soldiers and their families had crossed the Kushka River, afraid of possible persecution at home where the mujahidin will seize power any day now.

The Afghans handed over to our border guards 43 assault rifles and two machineguns and asked Turkmen President S. Niyazov to grant them political asylum. This is not the first time that Afghans have crossed to the territory of a CIS republic. Several families previously crossed the border in the area of the Tajik city of Pyandzh. The border guards expect such cases to become common.

Leader Not 'Political Refugee'

PM2704153992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Not Every Afghan Deserter Is a Political Refugee"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—News agencies have rushed to report: A large group of Afghan refugees, fleeing the retribution of the mujahidin, have crossed Turkmenistan's state border in the region of Takhta-Bazar, asking the local authorities for political asylum...

What actually happened?

On 20 April at 1030 hours 269 men headed by Abdul Karim—military leader of the Afghan village of Mari Chak—drove across our border, B. Gribanov, chief of staff of the Central Asian Border District, says. We stopped them, calling in the local and oblast organs of power, who are holding talks with them.

Right now they are encamped near the Kirov Kolkhoz. Their leader Abdul Karim is demanding political asylum and asserts that he fears retribution from the mujahidin: If there is a change of power in Kabul, they will cut off his head, he claims. It is possible that for Abdul Karim and perhaps two or three of his entourage there is indeed some danger in the advent of the mujahidin to power. For during Najibollah's rule he was a great bey, was village leader, and collected the paisa—tribute—from everyone; all the women were his... And now he will suddenly be deprived of all this, and be told: Go and till this row, work on the same basis as everyone! Of course, Colonel Abdul Karim is not prepared to do so. Therefore, seizing his cars, his cattle, and two women—not his own, incidentally—and a few items of property belonging to other people, he has come here, expecting to be welcomed as a political refugee. Except I think he is no political refugee, and still less are the women and children, the same 260-plus people whom Abdul took along with him as personal property, refugees...

Two days after Abdul Karim crossed the state border into Turkmenistan, elders of the Afghan village of Mari Chak visited the Turkmen border authorities and handed them a letter demanding the return of all the women and children of the village, and also all the property seized by Abdul Karim during his flight. "Without consulting us, he abandoned us all, seized cattle and vehicles, and inflicted damage on the village's economy," the Afghan elders' letter says.

The Turkmenistan border authorities are convinced that Abdul Karim organized this action for personal objectives. Lending it a political character. For the situation in northern Afghanistan is on the whole calm, and the majority of leaders of organs of power have long since reached diplomatic agreements with the leaders of the armed opposition on the formation of joint coalition power structures through purely peaceful means. For example, in Mazare Sharif, without noise or fuss or a shot being fired, the formation of a coalition government has been announced. In Turagundi [name as transliterated]—an Afghan village lying opposite Kushki in Turkmenistan—Turak Ismail, the military leader of Herat Province, has left all officials of the previous leadership in their previous posts.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Mongolia

LD2504092692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0233 GMT 25 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dugar Sanzhiyev]

[Text] Ulaanbator, 25 Apr—Mongolia and Turkmenistan have established diplomatic relations, expressing the interests and aspirations of their two people and the aims of developing mutually beneficial cooperation. This is stated in an official statement from the Mongolian Ministry for External Relations which has been circulated here today.

In this fashion, Mongolia has established diplomatic relations with 13 of the former Union republics since the collapse of the USSR.

Uzbekistan

Turkish Prime Minister on Official Visit

Arrives in Tashkent

LD2704165992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 27 Apr 92

[By UZA-TASS]

[Text] Tashkent April 27 TASS—Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel arrived on a friendly meeting to Uzbekistan on Monday [27 April], the first leg of his tour of former Soviet Central Asian republics.

Demirel is to meet Uzbek President Islam Karimov, as well as republican parliamentarians and the public on Monday.

On Tuesday he is to attend the opening ceremony of the Turkish embassy in Tashkent.

On the eve of Demirel's visit, the four former Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan held a summit in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) at which they probed a possibility of creating a single Turkic economic space.

Talks With Karimov

LD2704195992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey has started a trip around all the Muslim countries of the Commonwealth. Demirel has announced that Turkey will help them to build a market economy and democracy. Uzbekistan was the first country in this diplomatic marathon. [video shows welcome ceremony for Demirel at airport, crowds waving, Demirel and Karimov at microphones in crowd]

[Correspondent M. Ganiyev] In a brief interview at the airport, Mr. Demirel said that they had come to the land of their forefathers, and that the main aim of this visit was to support independent Uzbekistan in its political and economic development.

[Begin President I.A. Karimov recording] We see in the person of Turkey a country which, in all its parameters, in the path it has trodden and in the tasks facing them, is for us the most suitable country and the one closest to us in terms of both geography and the policy it is conducting. [end recording]

[Ganiyev] [video shows limousines leaving airport, delegation on platform in parliamentary chamber] Today, behind closed doors at the country residence, President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan had talks with Turkish Prime Minister Demirel. Turkish politicians, businessmen, and enterpreneurs are already actively working with business circles in Uzbekistan.

Toward the end of the day, the Turkish delegation had this meeting with the Uzbekistan parliament in the republican Supreme Soviet, where there was discussion of further, mutually beneficial cooperation between the two states.

Addresses Parliament

TA2704170892 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1625 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] Tashkent (AA)—Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, who started a tour of the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union earlier on Monday [27 April], said that Turkey and Uzbekistan had very close relations that would be further improved in many fields in the near future.

Demirel was addressing the Uzbek parliament on the first leg of his tour to five Turkic republics.

He said big opportunities were appearing for the new republics after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. The Turkic republics should take advantages of these opportunities to become part of the new world order, Demirel said, adding Turkey would do anything it could to help the development of these republics.

Thanking Turkey for being the first country to recognize Uzbekistan's independence last year, Uzbek President Islam Karimov called on Turkish businessmen to invest in his country.

Karimov ended his speech saying, "long live the Turkish Republic, long live the independence of Uzbekistan, long live the Uzbekistan-Turkey union."

In another development, the Tajikistan leg of Demirel's tour has been postponed to an unspecified date due to internal strife in that republic, Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said on Monday.

Cetin told AA that Tajik officials had requested the postponement. Another pretext was a reported illness of Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev, he added.

Demirel and the Turkish delegation accompanying him in Tashkent are scheduled to fly to Kyrgyzstan's capital, Bishkek, on Tuesday after the end of talks with Uzbek leaders. A number of agreements are also expected to be signed in Tashkent.

Demirel's tour will also cover Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan.

Karimov, Demiral Make Statements

TA2704211192 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Report from Tashkent by Zafer Kiraz]

[Text] Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov hosted a dinner today in honor of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel. Addressing the dinner, Karimov said that the meeting of two separated fraternal and relative peoples after a long period is very exciting.

Pointing out that Uzbekistan's attainment of its goals is to be achieved with Turkey's involvement, Karimov said that with Turkey's support his country will take its place among the important countries of the world. Karimov

compared his country to a bird which is about to fly, pointing out that Uzbekistan's natural resources represent one of its wings and the industrious Uzbek people the other. He continued: Turkey is the closest among our relatives supplying us with the necessary support for this bird to fly.

Karimov indicated that Turkey's policies and progress constitute a model for them.

In response, Demirel pointed out that unexpected changes have occurred in the world during the last two years, adding that developments in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have opened new horizons before the world. Stressing that with the conclusion of the ideological strife in the world, the issue of human rights and countries' efforts to achieve prosperity based on international cooperation has become important, Demirel said: The coming days, months, and years are very crucial for all countries. These are important for Uzbekistan as well as for Turkey.

Pointing out that there is no place in today's world for extremist movements, racism, and fanaticism, Demirel said that all countries, while retaining their national and moral values, must also share international values.

Addressing the Uzbek officials, Demirel said: Economic difficulties are temporary. Do not be discouraged. He added that Uzbekistan's efforts to attain contemporary civilization are to be praised. He explained that with its rich natural resources, industrious people and its history and culture, Uzbekistan has everything necessary to live in a civilized way in a progressive world.

Demirel concluded as follows: We are beside you under all conditions. The Uzbek state will live forever and its flag of freedom will eternally flutter in the Uzbek skies. Long live Uzbekistan, the Uzbek people, and the Turkish Republic.

Following the dinner, an Uzbek folklore group performed examples of the country's popular dances.

Earlier, Demirel accompanied Karimov to the Uzbek National Park to visit the monument of Ali Siir Nevai, the famous Turkish scholar and poet. A group of Uzbek citizens cheered Demirel as he left the park.

Demirel will leave for Kyrgyzstan tomorrow.

Demirel Protests German Action

TA2804105892 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 0955 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Tashkent (A.A)—Premier Suleyman Demirel on Monday [27 April] accused Germany of confusing terrorism with human rights, saying, "Europe does not regard blood shed in Turkey as blood."

He was speaking to journalists here in the Uzbek capital on the first leg of a tour of five Turkic republics.

Asked to comment on a recent German decision to suspend arms shipments to Turkey because of its fight against separatist terrorists, Demirel said the German public and press had certain misconceptions about the situation in troubled southeastern Turkey.

"Three more Turkish soldiers have been killed in Sirnak (in the southeast). Europe does not take the blood shed here seriously, it only takes it seriously if the state sheds someone's blood," he said.

Correspondents Beaten Up in Tashkent

PM2404155192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 92 p 1

["Own Information" report under the "Nothing But Facts" rubric: "The Press"]

[Text] INTERFAX correspondent S. Grebenyuk has been beaten up in Tashkent. One evening he was attacked by four strangers of Asian appearance by the entrance to his own apartment block. This could have been regarded as simple hooliganism but for the fact that he is the second of the three INTERFAX correspondents working in Tashkent to suffer this fate in the past six weeks. It only remains to be added that INTERFAX does not enjoy the respect of the Uzbek authorities because it often reports on events which official circles would prefer to ignore.

Armenia

Stepanakert, Villages Sustain 'Massive' Shelling

NC2704161992 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet press center reported that Stepanakert again came under massive rocket and artillery shelling from the direction of Shusha late last night and early this morning. Fifty artillery and 30 Grad shells were fired on the city. The shelling caused destruction and injuries.

Martuni, Mardakert, (Shrdzhanatsev), and Khanabad in Askeranskiy Rayon were shelled throughout the day yesterday from Grad mounts, T- 72 tanks, and 122-mm howitzers. One resident was killed and a few persons were injured in Khanabad.

Dzhartar, Machkalashen, and Tog in Martuninskiy Rayon were also shelled. More than 100 different kinds of shells were fired on these villages. The casualty figures are still being determined.

Armenia's border regions were also restive last night. Kapan again came under massive artillery fire from Azerbaijani gun emplacements in Kazandzhi late last night and early this morning. Seyran Samuelovich Bagdasaryan, born in 1961, was killed. Seven residents were injured. Yegvard, Agarak, and [placename indistinct] in Kapanskiy Rayon also came under intensive shelling. The Armenian side took retaliatory measures to silence the gun positions at Kazandzhi.

(Varkavaz) in Megrinskiy Rayon came under Alazan missile-fire from Nakhichevan's Ordubadskiy Rayon on 26 April. A few houses and [words indistinct] were destroyed.

Forces Suppress Azerbaijani Firing on Kapanskiy

LD2804061292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports from Yerevan that Kapan rayon and a number of villages in Kapanskiy rayon, in southeastern Armenia, were subjected to concentrated shelling from Azerbaijani territory last night, forcing the Armenian side to suppress the Azerbaijani firing points in Kazanchi village, in the neighboring Republic's Zagelanskiy rayon. Shots were heard on Azerbaijani territory, near David Bek village, Kafanskiy rayon, all day on 27 April. The Armenian Defense Ministry reported on 26 April that Vargavar village, Megrinskiy rayon, was shelled with Alazan missiles from the direction of Ordubadskiy rayon, in the Nakhichevan republic. It is believed that Nakhichevan's leadership is trying to open a second front against Armenia to draw it into large-scale military operations on the threshold of Azerbaijani presidential elections.

Chemical Weapons Charge Said To 'Mislead' Public

NC2704161992 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] Yerevan, 27 Apr (ARMENPRES)—More then 30 residential buildings were destroyed during the 25 April shelling of Nagorno-Karabakh's capital Stepanakert, and Nerkin-Horatag, Sos, Machkalashen, and Dzhartar in Mardakertskiy and Martuninskiy Rayons. A number of public buildings were also destroyed in Stepanakert. One resident was killed and some others were injured. There were human losses in the rayons.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Committee has categorically refuted the Azerbaijani side's claims that chemical weapons have been used in NKR against the Azerbaijani Army. It is yet another, and probably not the last, move by—and here we must sadly admit—the efficient propaganda machine of the neighboring republic to mislead the public opinion.

Three Said Shot in Attempt To Bomb Parliament

LD2504002692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan People's Front information center, citing Radio Armenia, says three unknown people were shot while trying to blow up the Armenian parliament, (?Khabar-Servis) reports.

Commission Created To Coordinate Economic Aid

LD2604094592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Text] A government commission for coordination of social and economic aid to Nagorno-Karabakh has been set up in Armenia. Its first session will take place today. Oleg Yesayan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Council of Ministers, who is in Armenia, told a SNARK correspondent that the creation of such a structure will allow all issues to be resolved through a single state body.

Yerevan Commodity Exchange Begins Operating

NC2404184692 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] The Yerevan Commodity Exchange was first among the republic's stock exchanges to receive government authorization to trade in currency. Brokers immediately began trading in freely convertible currencies by accepting cash and promissory notes. The Yerevan Commodity Exchange press service reported that this week, a dollar is worth 124 rubles. Experts at the exchange, however, foresee a steady fall in the exchange rate.

Country Experiencing New Cash Shortage

NC2504191492 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] A new cash crisis is threatening our republic. Isaak Isaakyan, chairman of the board of directors of Armenia's Bank, stated that the cash shortage has worsened again. The banks are giving out money with great difficulty. A complex situation has arisen in the payment of wages, pensions, and benefits. In Isaakyan's opinion, the situation will not improve as long as the money paid to the population does not return to the bank through the state trading network. Furthermore, [words indistinct] the republic has not yet received the new 200, 500, and 1000 ruble banknotes.

Azerbaijan

Nagorno-Karabakh Denies Russian Mediation Refused

LD2504101392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] Georgiy Petrosyan, acting chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament, today denied the report broadcast in the Novosti bulletin on 23 April that the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet Presidium has refused Russian mediation. Petrosyan told a SNARK correspondent that the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities have merely expressed their attitude regarding the specific proposal of Andrey Kozyrev. This proposal concerned holding a meeting of all the sides at Mineralnyye Vody on 24 April to seek a way to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The Stepanakert leadership considers that it is inappropriate to hold such a meeting on 24 April, a day of mourning for Armenians throughout the world, a day of sorrow for the victims of the 1915 genocide. Besides which, the Karabakh side feels that talks are premature until a cease-fire is agreed and the exchange of hostages is accomplished.

Defense Ministry Statement on 24-25 Apr Fighting

NC2504193992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense issued the following statement on 25 April:

Kazakhskiy Rayon: Barkhudarly, Buyuk Dzhafarli, Bala Dzhafarli, [placename indistinct], Ashagy Askipara, Kushchy Ayrum, and Medzham were fired on from Armenia's Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons with PDM [track maintenance shops] and VTR [expansion unknown] machine guns and automatic firearms on 24 April. The firing began at 1400. The clashes ended at 0900 this morning. (Mustakey) was fired on from helicopters that took off from Armenia. Damage is reported in the towns.

Tauzskiy Rayon: Alibeyli and (Khadzharly) were fired on from Armenia's Shamshadinskiy Rayon after 2000 last night. No one was killed.

Kedabekskiy Rayon: An Armenian helicopter was observed flying over the Shynykh area from 1100 to 1200 on 24 April.

Gorenboyskiy Rayon: Zeyve and Shefek were fired on from Armenian-inhabited Karachinar and Manat with PDM's from 1800 to 1900 last night. An Armenian reconnaissance patrol group attacked Shefek at 0100 this morning. Two people were slightly wounded.

Agdamskiy Rayon: Shilli was shelled with artillery units from Nakhichevanik from two directions at 0250 this morning. The shelling was halted at 0800.

Kel'badzharskiy Rayon: Agdaban was fired on from [placename indistinct] in Agdara Rayon with machine guns and automatic firearms from 1900 to 2100 on 24 April. The fire was returned, silencing the enemy. No one was killed. Heavy military vehicles have been observed assembling in Shorda in Armenia's Vardenis Rayon, which has a common border with Kel'badzharskiy Rayon. This town is opposite the [words indistinct].

Zangelanskiy Rayon: Units of the motorized infantry regiment of the Armenian Armed Forces in Kafanskiy Rayon attacked Agkend, Kazanchi, Dereli, Sherikan, Seidlyar, Chinkushlar, Dzhambar, Tirbeyuz, and Yukhary Goreli at 1615 on 24 April. The units tried to capture the towns. They subjected them to heavy fire with tracked personnel carriers, infantry combat vehicles, artillery guns, Alazan rockets, large-caliber machine guns, missile and granade launchers, and automatic firearms. Thanks to the resistance and determination of the officers and men of the rayon's field battalion, the enemy attack has been blocked. The clashes continued until 0230 this morning. The enemy has suffered casulties and damage. Damage has also been caused in a number of our towns, but we have had no casualties. Military servicemen Ehtiram Kuliyev, Tabriz Iskenderov, Ilham Zeynalov, Bashkar Mamedov, Rakhman Dzhebrailov, Adil Mamedov, Ilkin Bayramov, and Muhiyettin Musayev, and Lieutenants Khaydari Dzhebrailov, Mustafa Gasanov, Dzheyhun Mamediyarov, Server Dzhebrailov, Ismikhan Mamedov, and Rasim Akhmedov displayed exemplary efforts during the clashes.

Chorly was fired on from [placenames indistinct] in Armenia's Kafanskiy Rayon with machine guns and automatic firearms for nearly an hour this morning. The firing began at about 0100. The fire was returned and the enemy was silenced. No one was killed.

Kubatlinskiy Rayon: (Korogly), [placename indistinct], and Kubatly were was fired on from Armenia's Gorisskiy Rayon with PDM's, missile launchers, and artillery guns at 1840 on 24 April. Significant damage was caused and two women were wounded.

Fizulinskiy Rayon: Fizuli was intensively shelled with artillery guns from Armenian-inhabited Agbulakh, Dudukchu, and Khirmanly and from the heights known as Ergunesh from 0100 to 0200 this morning. Several

houses were destroyed. Units of the Armenian Armed Forces also fired on the rayon's towns at about the same time. Five shells fell on Dzhuvarly and four fell on Khalefte. A house was destroyed in Dzhuvarly. The units resumed their shelling at 1000 today. Another shell fell on the city center. Units of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces are heroically warding off the enemy attacks.

CSCE Sends Message to Azeri, Armenian Leaders

LD2404162192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1931 GMT 23 Apr 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague, April 23 ITAR-TASS—Jiri Dienstbier, chairman of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), sent messages to leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The messages are to be presented by Swedish Deputy Foreign Minister Mathias Mossberg who heads the CSCE group that left Prague for Nagorno-Karabakh on Thursday [23 April]. Giving a brief interview to the CTK news agency, Dienstbier refused to reveal the contents of the letters sent to Baku and Yerevan.

"The Mossberg Group" will be establishing on the spot the possibilities of stationing a mission of CSCE observers in the zone of the Armenian-Azeri conflict. Dienstbier believes that sending the group is "another step towards settling the Karabakh conflict". It is expected in Prague that the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan will state their views about the timeframe for an international conference on Nagorno-Karabakh with the participation of representatives of many countries, including Russia. Czechoslovakia as the state presiding over the Helsinki Process exerts efforts to ensure that a conference is held in Minsk prior to the beginning of elections in Azerbaijan, appointed for June 7.

Foreign Ministry Urges CSCE Intervention

LD2604214392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2000 GMT 26 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh: Fighting continued all today. According to the Armenian side, the town of Kapan has come under fire for the past 24 hours, as have villages of southeastern Armenia. According to unconfirmed reports, nine persons have been killed and 16 wounded.

At Stepanakert [Khankendi], 150 Grad rockets were fired. There are no reports of casualties. The Nagorno-Karabakh region defense committee has catagorically denied Azeri reports of Armenian use of chemical weapons during shelling of Shusha on 12 April. The Azeri Foreign Ministry has announced its support for a plan in which the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] deploys international observers in the region. It is planned to organize headquarters in Baku and Yerevan.

Aliyev Reinstated as Interior Minister

LD2704082392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] A 24-hour rally was held outside Azerbaijan's Ministry of Internal Affairs to protest the resignation of Tahir Aliyev, the minister of internal affairs, and member of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan. He was dismissed on the orders of Yakub Mamedov, Chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Nureddin Yusifov was appointed in his place. The rally was organized by the leaders of the republic's Popular Front.

The rally participants achieved their aim—yesterday it was announced that Tahir Aliyev was reinstated to the post of minister of internal affairs.

Presidential Candidates Registered for Election

OW2704185392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Azerbaijan, seven presidential candidates have been registered, having collected the required number of signatures, the central electoral commission has told IF [INTERFAX]. They are associate member of the Academy of Sciences Nizami Suleimenov, of the Union of Democratic forces (25.783 signatures), the speaker of the republican parliament Yagub Mamedov (263.249), Rafik Abdullaev, of the Popular Democratic Group (23.146), Etibar Mamedov, (65.008) of the National Independence Party, Abulfaz Elchbei (529.996), deputy speaker of parliament Tamerlan Goraev (48.187) and Ilyas Ismailov, of the Movement of Democratic Reforms (20.100).

Social Democratic Party chairman Ara Alizade failed to meet the required target of 20.000 signatures in his support and is out of the race.

The registration of candidates is over. Those registered will be able to start their election campaign as of April 27, which will last until June 6. The voting will take place on June 7.

Candidate Withdraws From Race

OW2704110692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ashraf Mekhtiyev, President of the Azeri Association of Victims of Political Reprisals and an assistant-professor of the Azeri Polytechnical University, has withdrawn from the presidential race.

The remaining eight candidates will carry on. On Monday [27 April], the Central Electoral Commission will complete the analysis of their registration documents. The election has been scheduled for June 7.

Among the candidates are Yagub Mamedov, acting president and chairman of the Azeri parliament; Abulfaz Elchibei Aliyev, chairman of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan; Etibar Mamedov, a representative of the National Independence Party; Araz Alizade, chairman of the Azeri Social-Democratic Party, Tamerlan Karayev, vice-chairman of the Azeri parliament; Ilyas Ismailov, minister of justice and chairman of the public movement for democratic reforms in Azerbaijan; Nizami Suleimanov, chairman of the Democratic Union of Azeri Intellectuals, and Rafik Abdullayev, Chairman of the Azeri Popular-Democratic Group.

Two more candidates cannot be registered. Chairman of the Meilis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Geidar Aliyev is 69 (the age qualification is 65), while Sayad Sayadov cannot run for presidency because the Revolutionary Party of Azerbaijan which he chairs, has not been registered.

Georgia

Proposals for Solving S. Ossetian Conflict

AU2804093692 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 11 Apr 92 p 4

["Certain Proposals for Regulating the Situation in the Tskhinvali Region" drawn up by Nodar Natadze, chairman of the Georgian Popular Front; place and date not given; words between single and double slantlines published in block capitals and bold face respectively]

[Text]

I. FORMS OF INSTABILITY DURING MARCH-APRIL 1992

The following represent current forms of instability in the region:

a) The actions of informal armed detachments involving robbery, marauding, kidnapping (of hostages), and murders (at times with particular cruelty);

b) The siege since January 1991 of eight Georgian villages (Tamarasheni, Achabeti, Kurta, Kekhvi, Sveri, Dzartsemi, Kemereti, Kheiti) in the Liakhvi valley to the north of Tskhinvali, the systematic attacks (with firing on houses) on these villages by armed detachments, sometimes supported by Russian internal troops;

c) the burning of houses;

d) the stealing of cattle;

e) the hijacking of automobiles;

II. FACTORS OF INSTABILITY

The following represent the principal factors of instability:

a) the general tense social and psychological background;

b) the abundance of weapons;

c) the presence of Russian internal troops and their actions against the population; their failure to allow the militia to participate in the protection of order.

III. PRIMARY AIMS IN THE PROCESS OF REGULATION

At the first stage of regulation, it is essential to secure a cease-fire. This should be viewed not only as a means toward achieving subsequent general political agreements, but, at the same time, also as an end in itself. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary:

a) To unblock the roads leading to the places where one or another nationality is living in compact numbers in order to narrow the front of mutual conflict as far as possible and give the population of one nationality the opportunity to avoid to the maximum encounters with the population of the other nationality;

b) To determine primary points (crossroads) that are to be guarded by the militia and roads that are to be patrolled. The guarding and patrolling are to be entrusted to militia groups whose national composition is to be determined beforehand in each individual case;

c) To vacate and seal the houses that have been abandoned by refugees in order to give the refugees the opportunity to return long before they have taken the decision to do so;

d) To withdraw Russian internal troops from the region of conflict.

IV. SECONDARY AIMS IN THE PROCESS OF REGULATION

The latter concern problems pertaining to the return of refugees. It is essential to gather complete information for a questionnaire that will objectively reflect the following:

a) The date of the refugee's departure;

b) His or her reasons for leaving (guaranteeing personal security, improving social prospects, family interests...);

c) The absence of criminal offenses and other serious offenses in the refugee's biography;

The order of priority of a refugee's return should be determined in accordance with the aforementioned data.

Nodar Natadze

The chairman of the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government Commission for the Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in the Tskhinvali Region intends to present this plan to the commission.

Letter Sent Demanding End To Ossetia 'Genocide'

LD2704224892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today a congress of the Confederation of the Caucasian mountain peoples ended in Tskhinvali. Nine delegations which took part in the work of the congress have sent a letter to the Georgian State Council in which they demanded a stop to genocide against the Ossetian population. Otherwise, the letter says, the Confederation will send military formations to South Ossetia.

On his part, Aleksandr Kavsadze, the chairman of the Commission for Human Rights in Georgia, stated that with the withdrawal of Russian troops an end was put to the animosity between Russians, Ossetians, and Georgians and the main obstacle has been removed in settling the issue relating to the presence of internal troops of a foreign country.

Deputy Premier for Human Rights Appointed

PM2704092992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 92 Morning Edition p 1

[ANI report: "Georgia To Restore Human Rights"]

[Text] The Georgian Supreme Council Presidium has adopted a resolution "On Measures to Restore Human Rights in the Republic."

It notes that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's authoritarian regime unleashed a fratricidal war which led to the infringement of human rights in Georgia and particularly in South Ossetia, where tension between Ossetians and Georgians has been sharply exacerbated. The post of deputy prime minister for human rights is being instituted. The holder will simultaneously head the new Committee for Human Rights and Ethnic Conflicts. Aleksandr Kavsadze has been appointed to the job. He has been instructed to elaborate and implement measures to restore peace in South Ossetia within a month.

Leaders Meet With Western Region Representatives

OW2604161392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1506 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sunday [26 April] in Kutaisi the leadership of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers headed by the Premier Tengiz Sigua were negotiating with the representatives of the Western Georgia regions on stabilizing of political, economic situation in the region.

The Georgian Internal Minister Roman Gventsadze reported at the meeting that after the withdrawal of the CIS and Russia armed forces from the Southern Ossetia the detachments of the national guard and Georgian militia would take control over the situation in this region. The minister expressed hope that the conflict would be solved by means of negotiations between the parties.

Withdrawal of Helicopter Regiment Denied

LD2504101792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX, Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, denied a report about the withdrawal from Tskhinvali of a helicopter regiment stationed there which is under the military district's command. This issue is to be discussed at a meeting between Pavel Grachev, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, and the Georgian leadership. The talks are scheduled to begin 29 April. Beppayev confirmed that the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry forces stationed in Tskhinvali have withdrawn personnel and equipment from the line separating the warring sides and in his view, this signifies that the forces are preparing to withdraw from the region.

Gamsakhurdia Accuses Shervardnadze of Treason

OW2504005892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia accused Eduard Shevardnadze of suppressing the national liberating movement in Georgia, infringing upon human rights, conspiring an international plot against the legitimate government, committing high treason against Motherland and coming to agreement with Germany to the detriment of Georgia's interests.

These and many other accusations (totally, 20 points) are indicated in an open letter of the ousted Georgian president to the chairman of the republican State Council, delivered from Grozny (Chechnya) to Sukhumi (in Abkhazia, which is an autonomy within Georgia). The handwritten letter with the presidential seal was brought by member of the Georgian Helsinki Union's Abkhaz regional organization (led by Zviad Gamsakhurdia) Dali Silagadze.

Gansakhurdia demands for a written answer to his letter and offers Shevardnadze to hold TV debates in Moscow. However, the letter points out that it would be possible to hold such debates with Shevardnadze not as the leader of the "non- existent" State Council, but the former Soviet Foreign Minister.

Estonia

Central Bank President Cited on Currency Reform

LD2504220692 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Excerpts] We will begin from Toompea in Tallinn where government members face the Supreme Council. Gunnar Paal reports:

[Paal] [passage omitted] Speaking during today's Estonian Bank and the Estonian Government information hour, Siim Kallas, president of the Estonian Bank, said that a package of draft laws will be presented to the Supreme Council at the beginning of May, related to the changeover to the new Estonian currency. At the moment debates about concepts are in progress. In Siim Kallas' opinion a certain amount of rubles in circulation and held by the population may be exchanged for the Estonian kroon. In the course of the monetary reform the use of the ruble within the future Estonian currency circulation will be ruled out.

Siim Kallas, president of the Estonian bank took a negative attitude to the option of invalidating—so to speak—enterprises' bank accounts. Talking abour relations with Russia, the president of the Estonian Bank said that they can be based only on international practice as far as financial relations are concerned. Siim Kallas calmed savers separately. According to what he said it has never been part of the plan to deprive any bank savings account holders of their money. This may however happen to those who have large amounts of cash in hand. Exchanging money is likely to take place within a set limit. The D-Day was not, of course, announced today. Specific figures were not mentioned either, nor specific exchange rates. [passage omitted]

Government Appoints Acting Defense Minister

OW2704213892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1838 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [27 April] the Estonian government appointed State Minister Uno Veering as acting defense minister of the republic. He is also head of the Estonian delegation for talks with Russia on the withdrawal of troops. The government had to make this decision, since the Estonian parliament had declined the candidacy of Enn Tupp, chairman of the parliamentary commission on state protection, for the post of defense minister.

Toomas Puura was nominated as deputy defense minister. He previously served as head of the state and border protection department attached to the Estonian government.

Currently, the Estonian Defense Forces include two infantry battalions, border and interior troops.

Strike Held by Narva Russian-Speaking Workers

PM2704143392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Apr 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by V. Batalov, identified by caption, from Narva]

[Text] [Announcer] A warning strike was held in Narva, Estonia, today.

[Batalov] It seems that the Russian-speaking population's parliamentary means of struggle have been exhausted. Their appeals to Estonia's Supreme Soviet were also ignored. So it was decided to call a strike. The signal for the beginning of the strike was to be given by power workers.

At 0930 in the morning the capacity of the power units at two power stations—the Baltiyskaya and the Estonskaya stations—located near Narva, was reduced by 400 megawatts for two hours. Were it not for the integrated power grid, a city the size of Tallinn would have been without electricity.

[V.A. Ponyatovskiy, chairman of the Baltiyskaya power station strike committee, identified by caption] The Estonian Republic has violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, despite the fact that it is a full member of the United Nations. It has violated the UN document, and the agreement with Russia whose Article 3 states that citizens of both states have the right to freely chose either Estonian or Russian citizenship.

[Batalov] The stumbling block is the Law on Citizenship. Henceforth all those who have not applied for Estonian citizenship before 1940 have to undergo a humiliating procedure. They have to submit an application, wait for the authorities to reply, and only then are they allowed to take a language test. If they succeed, they then have to swear an oath of loyalty to the Republic. These and other provisions of the law provided the pretext for the 2-hour warning strike in which all of Narva's industrial and construction organizations took part. They were backed by leading labor collectives in Kokhtla-Jarve and Sillamae.

Should the emerging confrontation intensify, it will seriously affect Estonia's economic situation.

Latvia

Russia Suspends Gas Supplies to Latvia

OW2304141892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1342 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the DIENA newspaper, Adrians-Davis, general director of Latvijas Gaze, a state gas company, says Russia has suspended its deliveries of natural gas to Latvia. He thinks that, in this situation, it

is most essential to fill the underground depository in Incukalns (Riga District) in order to have enough gas for next winter. To pay for this amount [as received], the government trebled the gas price on April 16.

"Russia refuses to sign an agreement on gas supplies since it is interested in having strategic control of the situation in the Baltic countries," Davis believes. Apart from this, Russia is planning to set up a joint-stock company on the basis of the Incukalns depository—especially since the latter used to belong to the USSR government—with the Russian Gazprom enterprise owning 55% of the shares, Latvijas Gaze 35%, and Lithuania and Estonia 5% each.

The Latvian government cannot accept this for the depository itself belongs to Latvia, whereas Russia only fills it with gas, part of which is then supplied to Lithuania, Estonia, St. Petersburg, and Kaliningrad.

The Latvian and Russian governments have signed an agreement according to which Russia is to provide Latvia with 2.5 bn [billion] cubic meters of gas this year in exchange for Latvian food, but Latvia has so far received nothing. Last year Latvia's consumption amounted to 2.9 bn cubic meters, so Latvijas Gaze is at the moment holding negotiations with the Universal Gas Exchange of Russia trying to buy 200 mln [million] cubic meters at a price of $90 per 1,000 cubic meters, which, converted into rubles at the rate used by the Central Bank of Russia, considerably exceeds Latvia's internal price.

Government To Receive World Bank Credits in Sep

OW2404212592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1915 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first financier of the World Bank Caroline Gogenore said yesterday at the meeting with the Latvian Finance Minister Elmars Silins in Riga that Latvia would be able to receive the first World Bank credit in September of 1992. The only obstacle is that Latvia is not a member of the World Bank. But Caroline Gogenore believes the matter of republic's joining the institution will be decided in April. The credit amounts to about 40 billion dollars.

Caroline Gogenore said that a World Bank working group headed by her had analyzed the situation in the republic and prepared a resolution on it. It is to be submitted to the World Bank leadership, IMF and Lithuanian government. The document includes proposals on carrying out definite activities to stabilize economic situation.

Charges Imposed for Transit of Oil Via Seaports

LD2404222592 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0931 GMT 24 Apr 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Government has introduced charges for transit of oil and oil products via its sea ports. On April 23, head of the Latvian Council of Ministers Press Service, Mintauts Dujmanis told a briefing that the tariff was established [word indistinct] the amount of 4-6 percent of the oil exported. The tax will be collected in kind, without any surcharges. In accordance with the government's resolution, the oil and oil products received as customs duty, will be transferred to the state-run enterprise Latuiyas Nafta, to be sold at free market prices.

Industrial Output, Productivity Decrease in 1992

LD2504024192 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] During the first three months of this year, industrial output in the country has decreased four-fold as compared to the same period last year, reports the daily newspaper DIENA, citing findings of the Latvian statistics committee. Two-thirds—or 391—of the country's enterprises have reduced their productivity (?of) late by more than 50 percent. Of 112 crucial products, output of 92 items has been significantly reduced. Such a decline can be explained by the shortage of raw materials, resulting in stoppages in 120 state enterprises in March alone. As a result of the stoppages, industry losses of 3.8 billion rubles—or 14 percent of the total output—have been recorded in the first three months of 1992. Statistics show that production growth in Latvia has decreased in all branches of industry, but the greatest losses have occurred in the food industry—1.7 billion rubles—and the engineering and metal working industries—also 1.7 billion rubles. Despite the negative tendencies, overall industry profits in January and February of this year have increased 5.4 times as compared to the same period last year, due to price rises.

National Bank Vice President Resigns

LD2504041492 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2002 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Excerpts] Bank of Latvia Vice President Alfreds Bergs-Bergmanis spent his last working day at his post on 24 April. He resigned after his request that the bank be allowed to fulfill its functions independently, without interference in its internal affairs, was rejected:

[Begin Bergs-Bergmanis recording] [passage omitted including indistinct portions] Nothing will save it. The new money will not save it. We will only worsen the situation if today we issue the Latvian ruble or the lats. I am under the impression [words indistinct] I would be glad if I were mistaken, that (?at present) the deputies regard what they say as sacred. For me, this brings

associations with the former party structures, because each word and each opinion which came from there was an irrefutable truth. [end recording]

The post of Bank vice president is vacant. It is not known when we will learn the name of the new candidate for the post nor if the Supreme Council will find another person as knowledgeable in the bank's affairs.

Lithuania

Landsbergis, Butkevicius Begin Visit to France

LD2204231592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpts] The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, has begun his visit to France. [passage omitted] Today he took part and spoke at a conference organized by Sorbonne University, entitled Whither the East?

Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius arrived in Paris, too. He told an ELTA correspondent that during his visit in France he expects to discuss many important issues, clarify the Lithuanian demand that the Russian Army be withdrawn from Lithuania as soon as possible, and also explore possibilities of French help in stepping up this process. We have other problems, too, said the minister. For instance, we expect to agree on the exchange of experts, on methodical and material assistance. There are many issues linked with the European security system and with our place in its structure.

The Minister of National Defense will go from Paris to Britain where, according to him, many issues will be discussed with the defense leadership of Great Britain.

French President To Visit in May To Sign Treaty

OW2404212792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1915 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian speaker's advisor on foreign policies Jolanta Jacovskiene said that French President Francois Mitterand would pay an official visit to Lithuania from May 13 to 14. She also said the arrangement had been obtained during Vytautas Landsbergis's unofficial visit to France which ended on Friday [24 April]. A treaty on friendship and bilateral cooperation is to be signed during Mitterand's visit to Lithuania. Then, he will go to Latvia and Estonia. Jolanta Jacovskiene said that France showed attentive attitude towards lending 100 billion Ffr to Lithuania aiming to reform the republican agriculture. The final decision on granting the credits is to be made yet. During his visit to France Landsbergis met high-ranking officials of the "Thompson" company which specialized on modern weapons production. The advisor said Lithuania was going to turn to this company to purchase some kinds of weapons.

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Postpones Visit

OW2504174892 Moscow BALTFAX 1429 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Secretariat of the Lithuanian parliament informed IF [INTERFAX] that Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, had put off his visit to Vilnius. In the absence of Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is making a foreign tour at the moment, his presence in Moscow is a must.

According to the earlier-reached agreements, Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev was to arrive in Lithuania on Monday [27 April], to exchange ratification certificates with chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis.

Vagnorius Refuses Comment on Katkus Dismissal

LD2604195392 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] A government decree was published today that Valdemaras Katkus has been dismissed from his post as first deputy foreign minister for activity contrary to the government decision to join the IMF and the World Bank. As we already reported, when asked at a government meeting by Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas to comment on the motives of the dismissal, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius refused to do this.

Today Valdemaras Katkus, who is also parliament deputy, refused to comment on his dismissal to Vilnius Radio, stating that so far he, too, has not heard an official explanation by the government leader.

Landsbergis on Gorbachev's Testimony Plans

LD2704123892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Correspondent Valdas Kanapienis report]

[Text] The Information amd Analysis Center and the Public Relations Group of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania released a report today, which states: According to the 25 April publication by LIETUVOS RYTAS of an interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, it appears that the president of the former Soviet Union does not envision any problem in providing staff members of the Lithuanian General Procuracy with testimony concerning the 13 January 1991 massacre case. However, a positive reply to such a request by the Lithuanian General Procuracy has not been received.

Vytautas Landsbergis, Supreme Council Chairman of the Republic of Lithuania, said that perhaps this new situation is connected with the recently received letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin in answer to my earlier letter, in which a desire was voiced for better

relations in the area of legal cooperation to ensure that no putschists or state criminals could evade responsibility. Boris Yeltsin agrees that it is necessary to employ measures [words indistinct] the crimes if committed outsidewithout, if punishment has not been exacted, and if the interrogation of persons vital to the case are carried out, even prior to the final signing of the Russian and Lithuanian Juridical Cooperation Agreement.

So far, no concrete mention has been made in official correspondence between the Russian and the Lithuanian leaders concerning Mikhail Gorbachev's testimony regarding 13 January, but no one doubts the fact—and not just the Lithuanian Procuracy exclusively—that Mikhail Gorbachev can provide very important information not just for that case, but also for justice, Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis stated.

Funds Sought To Speed Troop Withdrawal

OW2704214192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 27 Apr 92

[From the "Presidential Bulletin"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis made a TV appearance Sunday [26 April] on the pullout of foreign troops from Lithuania.

Supreme Soviet chairman was skeptical on the results of negotiations with Russian without a clear-cut timetable for the withdrawal. According to him, it is expedient to use the good political moment, the July upcoming Helsinki meeting, and not only to declare Lithuanian's demands but also to receive Russia's concrete answer to the request.

Landbergis does not see a cloudless political future for the Russian leadership. He emphasized: "Our relations with President Yeltsin are good. We wish well to Russian democracy. However, we would be irresponsible leaders if we did not prepare ourselves for the worst-case scenario."

Lithuania, said he, planned to request international agencies and western states to create a special migration fund. This structure would help the families of the banished people (who were purged during the Soviet power) to return and make home in Lithuania, and the families of Russian officers to return to Russia. Landbergis believes that the resolution of the housing problem for the servicemen leaving Lithuania could provide an impulse to immediate withdrawn of the troops. The head of government allows the possibility of giving hard currency to help the military relocate.

The results of a national referendum on the destiny of foreign troops in Lithuania could, Landsbergis says, become an important political weapon and "help democratic Russia in its fight against conservatives."

Referendum on Troop Withdrawal Set for 14 Jun

OW2704213792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1838 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At an emergency meeting Monday [27 April] the Lithuanian parliament voted to hold a June 14, 1992, referendum on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the republic in 1992 (58 deputies voted for the decision).

52 deputies voted to include this question in the May 23 referendum on the introduction of presidency in Lithuania additionally. However, the parliament rejected the proposal.